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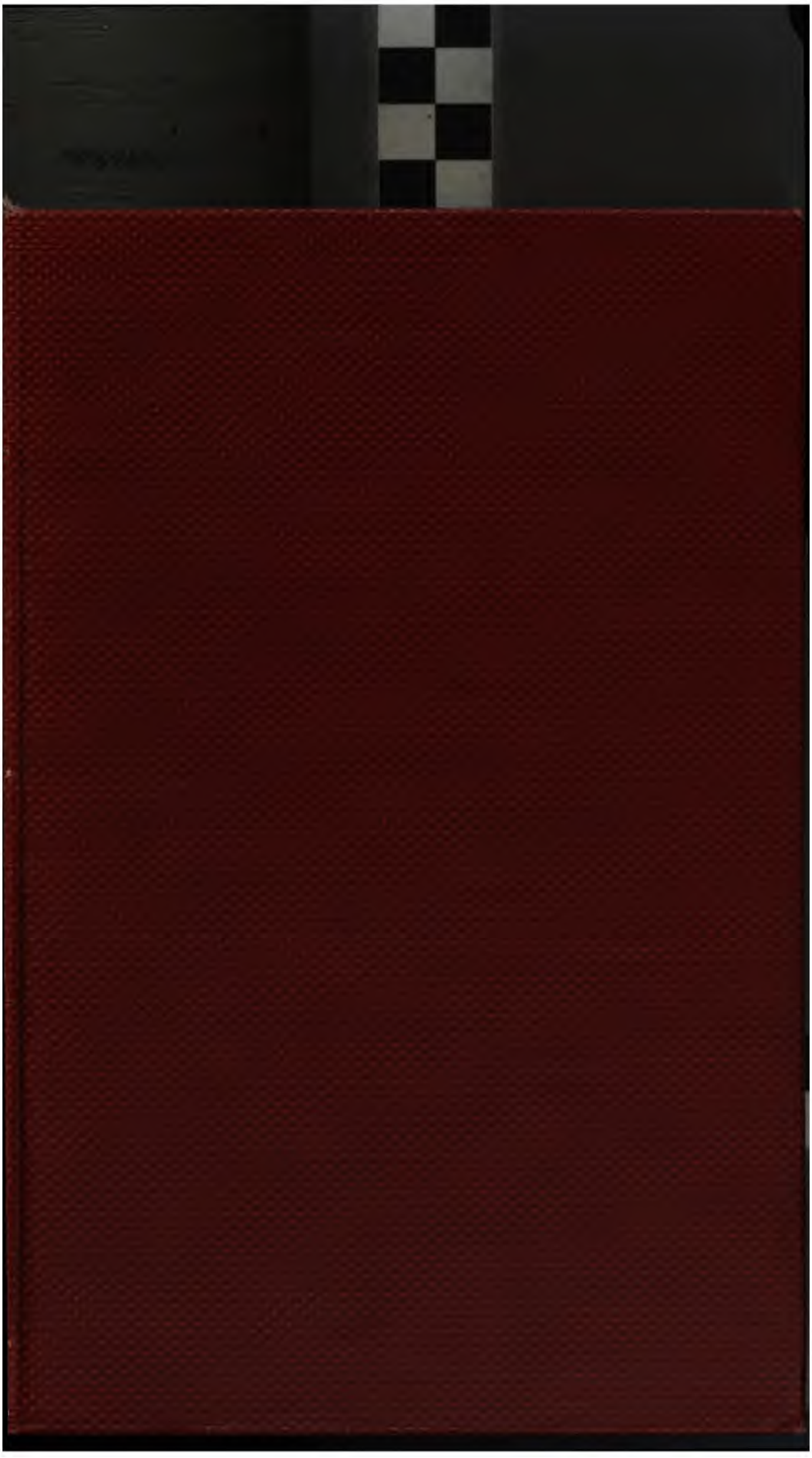

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VOLUME XXXIV

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VOLTAIRE

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE UNDER PETER THE GREAT

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

WHO could have pretended to say, in the year 1700, that a magnificent and polite court would be formed at the extremity of the Gulf of Finland? that the inhabitants of Solikamsk, Kazan, and the banks of the Volga and Sok, would be ranked among our best disciplined troops, and gain victories in Germany, after defeating the Swedes and the Turks; that an empire two thousand leagues in length, almost unknown to us before, should in the space of fifty years become a well-governed state, and extend its influence to all the European courts? and that in 1759, the most zealous patron of learning in Europe, should be a Russian? Any one who had said this would have passed for the most chimerical mortal on earth. Peter the Great, therefore, who singly planned and executed this amazing and altogether unforeseen revolution, is, perhaps, of all princes, the one whose deeds are most worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

The court of St. Petersburg has furnished the historian, charged with compiling this work, with all the authentic documents. It is said in the body of this history, that these memoirs are deposited in the public library of Geneva, a well-known and frequented city, in the neighborhood of which the author lives; but as the whole of the instructions and journal of Peter the Great have not yet been communicated to him, he has thought proper to keep these records at his own house; where the curious may have a sight of them, with as much ease as from the library-keepers at Geneva, and the whole shall be deposited there as soon as the second volume is finished.

The public already has several pretended histories of Peter the Great, most of them compiled from newspapers. That which was published at Amsterdam, in four volumes, by Boyard Nestesuranoy, is one of those impositions of the press, which have become too common among us. Of this kind are the "Memoirs of Spain," by Don Juan de Colmenar, and the "History of Louis XIV.," compiled by La Motte, the Jesuit, from pretended papers of a minister of state, and ascribed to La Martinière.

Such also are the histories of the emperor Charles VI.; of Prince Eugene, and many others.

In this manner has the noble art of printing been made to serve the purposes of the vilest traffic. A Dutch bookseller orders a book to be written, just as a manufacturer gives directions for weaving a piece of cloth; and unhappily there are authors to be found, whose necessities oblige them to sell their labors to these dealers, like workmen, for hire; hence arise these insipid panegyrics, and defamatory libels, with which the public is overrun, and is one of the most shameful vices of the age.

Never did history stand more in need of authentic vouchers, than at this time, when so infamous a traffic is made of falsehood. The author who now offers to the public "The History of the Russian Empire under Peter the Great" is the same who thirty years ago wrote the "History of Charles XII.," from the papers of several eminent persons in public stations, who had lived with that monarch for a considerable time. The present history is a confirmation of, and supplement to, the former.

And here the author thinks himself obliged, out of respect to the public, and a regard for truth, to bring to view an undeniable testimony of the degree of credit due to the "History of Charles XII."

Not long since, the king of Poland and duke of Lorraine ordered that work to be read over a second time to him at Commercy, when he was struck with the truth of a multitude of facts, to which he himself had been eye-witness, and so incensed at the boldness with which certain libellers and journalists had controverted their authenticity, that he resolved to enforce, by the authority of his own testimony, the credit due to the historian; and as it was not proper for him to write himself, he ordered one of the great officers of his household, to draw up the following, in the form of a certificate:

Nous Lieutenant-Général des armées du Roi, Grand Maréchal des Logis de sa Majesté Polonaise, & Commandant en Toul, les deux Baro, etc., certifions que sa Majesté Polonaise, après avoir entendu la lecture de l'histoire de Charles XII. écrite par Monsieur de V—— (dernière édition de Genève) après avoir loué le style . . . . de cette histoire, & avoir admiré ces traits . . . . qui caractérisent tous les ouvrages de cet illustre auteur, nous a fait l'honneur de nous dire qu'il était prêt à donner un certificat à Monsieur de V——, pour constater l'exacte vérité des faits contenus dans cette histoire. Ce Prince a ajouté que Monsieur de V—— n'a oublié, ni déplacé aucun fait, aucune circonstance intéressante, que tout est vrai, que tout est

en son ordre dans cette histoire: qu'il a parlé sur la Pologne, & sur tous les événemens qui y sont arrivés, etc. comme s'il en eût été témoin oculaire. Certifions de plus, que ce Prince nous a ordonné d'écrire sur le champ à Monsieur de V—— pour lui rendre compte de ce que nous venions d'entendre, & l'assurer de son estime & de son amitié.

Le vif intérêt que nous prenons à la gloire de Monsieur de V—— & celui que tout honnête homme doit avoir pour ce qui constate la vérité des faits dans les histoires contemporaines, nous a pressé de demander au Roi de Pologne la permission d'envoyer à Monsieur de V—— un certificat en forme de tout ce que sa Majesté nous avoit fait l'honneur de nous dire. Le Roi de Pologne, non seulement y a consenti, mais même nous a ordonné de l'envoyer, avec prière à Monsieur de V—— d'en faire usage toutes les fois qu'il le jugera à propos, soit en le communiquant, soit en le faisant imprimer, etc.

Fait à Commercy ce 11 Juillet, 1759.

Le Comte de Tressan.

[We, lieutenant-general of the king's armies, grand marshal of the household to his Polish majesty, and commandant of Toul, of the two Bars, etc., do hereby certify, that his said Polish majesty, on hearing read to him the "History of Charles XII.," written by M. de V—— (the last Geneva edition) not only recommended the style .... of that history, and expressed his admiration of the strokes .... which characterize all the writings of that celebrated author; but has moreover done us the honor of signifying to us, that he was ready to grant a certificate to M. de V——, for the better ascertaining the exact truth of the facts contained in that history. His majesty, at the same time, added that M. de V—— has neither omitted nor misplaced any one fact, or interesting circumstance; that the whole is agreeable to truth, and every event placed in its proper order; and that he has spoken of everything relating to Poland. and the events which happened there, etc., as if he had been an eye-witness. We moreover certify, that his majesty ordered us to write immediately to M. de V——, to acquaint him with what we had heard, and to assure him of his majesty's friendship and esteem.

The great regard we have for M. de V——'s reputation, and that concern which every honest man should have for whatever serves to establish the truth of facts in histories of our own times, has induced us to ask permission of his Polish majesty, to transmit to M. de V——, a formal certificate of whatever his majesty had been pleased to impart to us. To which his majesty was not

only pleased readily to consent, but even gave his express orders for us to send it, with his desire that M. de V—— would, on all occasions, make such use of it as he should judge proper, either by communicating it, having it printed, etc.

Done at Commercy, July 11, 1759.

The Count de Tressan.]

When this document was sent to the author, it gave him a surprise, more agreeable, as it came from a prince who was as well acquainted with the several transactions as Charles XII. himself; and is, besides, so well known to all Europe for his regard for truth, and his humanity and benevolence.

There are a great number of testimonies, no less authentic, relating to the history of the age of Louis XIV., a work of equal truth and importance, that breathes a spirit of patriotism, but without suffering that spirit to injure truth, to exaggerate the good, or to disguise the evil; a work composed without any views of interest, without hope and without fear, by a person whose situation in life places him above the necessity of flattering any one.

There are very few authorities quoted in "The Age of Louis XIV.," as the events of the first years, being known to every one, wanted only to be placed in their proper light; and as to those of later date, the author speaks of them as an eye-witness. On the contrary, in "The History of the Russian Empire," he always quotes his vouchers, the principal of which is Peter the Great himself.

We have not been at the pains, in this history of Peter the Great, to make any idle researches into the origin of most of the nations, of which the immense empire of Russia is composed, from Kamchatka to the Baltic Sea. It is a strange undertaking to prove by authentic sources, that the Huns removed, in former times, from the north of China into Siberia; and that the Chinese themselves are an Egyptian colony. I know that some philosophers of great reputation have imagined they saw a conformity between these people, in some particulars; but their surmises have been made bad use of, by some who have attempted to convert their conjectures into certainty.

Thus, for instance, they now pretend to prove that the Egyptians were the ancestors of the Chinese. An ancient writer has told us that the Egyptian king, Sesostris, went as far as the river Ganges; now, if he went as far as the Ganges, he might have gone to China, which is at a great distance from the Ganges, therefore he did go thither; but China, at that time, was not peopled, therefore it is clear that Sesostris peopled China. The Egyptians used

lighted tapers at their festivals, the Chinese used lanterns; it cannot, therefore, be doubted that the Chinese are an Egyptian colony. Furthermore, the Egyptians have a great river, so have the Chinese; lastly, it is evident that the first kings of China bore the same names as the ancient kings of Egypt; for in the name of the family of Yu, we may trace characters, which, disposed after another manner, form the word Menes. Therefore, it is incontestable, that the emperor Yu took his name from Menes, king of Egypt; and the emperor Ki is plainly Atoës, by changing K into A, and i into toës.

But if a learned man of Tobolsk or Pekin were to read some of our books, he might demonstrate still more clearly that the French are descended from the Trojans. He might prove it in the following manner, and astonish his countrymen by his profound researches. The most ancient writings, he might say, and those in most esteem in that little country of the West called France, are romances; these were written in a pure language, derived from the ancient Romans, who were famous for never advancing a falsehood. More than twenty of these authentic books affirm that Francis, the founder of the monarchy of the Franks, was a son of Hector. The name of Hector has ever since been preserved by this nation; and even in the present century, one of their greatest generals was called Hector de Villars.

The neighboring nations—he would continue—are so unanimous in acknowledging this truth, that Ariosto, one of the most learned of the Italians, owns in his "Orlando," that Charlemagne's knights fought for Hector's helmet. Lastly, there is one proof that admits of no reply, namely, that the ancient Franks, to perpetuate the memory of the Trojans, their ancestors, built a new city called Troy, in the province of Champagne; and these modern Trojans have always retained so strong an aversion to their enemies, the Greeks, that there are not at present four persons in the whole province of Champagne who will learn their language: nay, they would never admit any Jesuits among them, probably because they had heard it said that some of that body used formerly to explain Homer in their public schools.

It is certain that such arguments might produce a great effect at Tobolsk or Pekin; but then again, another learned man might overturn this fine hypothesis, by proving that the Parisians are descended from the Greeks: for, he might say, the first president of one of the courts of judicature of Paris, was named Achille du Harlay. "Achille" is evidently derived from the Greek *Achilles,*

and "Harlay" from *Aristos*, by changing *istos* into *lai*. The Elysian Fields—*champs élysées*—which still exist near one of the gates of the city, and Mount Olympus, which is still to be seen in the neighborhood of Mézières, are monuments against which the most obstinate incredulity cannot hold out. Furthermore, all the Athenian customs are preserved at Paris; the citizens pass sentence there on tragedies and comedies, with as much levity as the Athenians did; they crown the generals of their armies in the public theatres, as was done at Athens; and lastly, Marshal Saxe received publicly, from the hands of an actress, a crown, which could not be given to him in the cathedral. The Parisians have academies, derived from those of Athens, as likewise ecclesiastic canons, a liturgy, parishes, and dioceses, all Greek inventions, and the terms themselves all taken from the Greek language; nay, the very distempers of these people have their appellations from the Greek: "apoplexy," "phthisic," "peripneumonia," "cachexia," "dysentery," "jealousy," etc.

It must be acknowledged that this opinion would weigh considerably against the authority of the learned personage who had just demonstrated, that we were a Trojan colony; and both these opinions might be again contradicted by other profound antiquarians, some of whom might prove that we are Egyptians, and that the worship of Isis was established at the village of Isis, on the road from Paris to Versailles; while others again might demonstrate that we are of Arabian extraction, as witness the words—"almanac," "alembic," "algebra," "admiral." The Chinese and Siberian literati would be greatly puzzled to decide the question; and, after all, would very likely leave us just what we are.

It seems, then, that we must still remain in uncertainty concerning the origin of all nations. It is the same with respect to a whole people, as with particular families. Several German barons pretend to be descended, in a direct line, from Arminius; just as a pedigree was composed for Mahomet, by which he descended directly from Abraham and Hagar.

In like manner, the family of the ancient czars of Muscovy, was said to come from Bela, king of Hungary; this Bela from Attila, Attila from Turck, the father of the Huns; and this Turck was the son of Japheth. His brother Russ founded the empire of Russia, and another brother, named Cameri, founded a state towards the river Volga.

All these sons of Japheth were, as every one knows, the grandsons of Noah, whose three sons made what haste

they could to procure themselves settlements, at the distance of a thousand leagues apart, lest they should be of some assistance to one another; and, in all probability, by lying with their sisters, became the fathers of millions of inhabitants, in the space of a few years.

A number of grave writers have traced these descents, with much the same exactness and sagacity as they discovered the manner in which the Japanese peopled Peru. History has for a long time been written in this style; a style to which President de Thou and Rapin-Thoyras seem to have been absolute strangers.

If we are to be on our guard against those historians, who go back to the tower of Babel, and to the deluge, we should be no less sparing of our credit to those who enter into a minute detail of modern history, penetrate into all the secrets of the cabinets, and are so unfortunately minute as to give an exact relation of every battle, when even the generals themselves would have found great difficulty in doing it.

Since the beginning of the last century, there have been nearly two hundred great battles fought in Europe, most of them more bloody than those of Arbela and Pharsalia; but as very few of these battles produced any great consequences, they are lost to posterity. Were there but one book in the world, children would know every line of it by heart, and be able to tell every syllable; in like manner, had there been but one battle, the name of each soldier would be known, and his pedigree handed down to future ages; but in such a long, and almost continuous succession of bloody wars among Christian princes, the ancient interests are all changed, and give way to new ones; the battles fought twenty years ago are effaced by those of the present time; as in Paris, the news of yesterday is forgotten in that of to-day; and this, in its turn, will be lost in that of to-morrow: and almost every event is plunged by another into perpetual oblivion. This is a reflection which cannot be dwelt on too much; it serves to comfort us under the misfortunes we suffer, and to show us the nothingness of all human affairs. Naught then remains in history, worthy of fixing the attention of mankind, but those striking revolutions which have wrought a change in the manners and laws of great states; and upon this principle the history of Peter the Great is worthy of being known.

If we have dwelt somewhat too long on the particulars of certain battles and sieges, which resemble others of the same nature, we crave pardon of the philosophic reader;

and have no other excuse to offer, but that these little facts, being connected with great ones, must necessarily make a part of the whole.

We have refuted Norberg in some passages, which appeared to us the most important; but have left him quietly to enjoy his mistakes where they are of no consequence.

This history of Peter the Great is made as concise, and at the same time as copious, as possible. There are histories of small provinces, little towns, and even of convents of monks, that take up several volumes in folio. The memoirs of a certain abbot, who retired for some years into Spain, where he did scarce anything worth notice, employ seven volumes; whereas one has been found sufficient for the life of Alexander the Great.

Perhaps there may still be some of those overgrown children, who would rather read the fabulous stories of Osiris, Bacchus, Hercules, and Theseus, consecrated by antiquity, then the true history of a modern prince; either because the antique names of Osiris and Hercules sound more agreeable in their ears than that of Peter; or the overthrowing of giants and lions, is more pleasing to a weak imagination than the history of useful laws and noble enterprises: and yet we must acknowledge, that the defeat of the giant of Epidaurus, and of the robber Sinnis, and the combat with Crommion's sow, are not equal to the exploits of the conqueror of Charles XII., the founder of St. Petersburg, and the legislator of a most potent empire.

It is true, the ancients taught us how to think justly, and it would be very extraordinary to prefer Anacharsis, the Scythian, merely for his antiquity, to the modern Scythian, who has civilized so many people. We see no reason why the law-giver of Russia should give way either to Lycurgus or Solon. Are the laws of the latter, which recommend the love of boys to the citizens of Athens, and forbid it to the slaves, or those of the former, which ordered young women to box naked in the public market-place, to be preferred to the laws of him who civilized the people of both sexes in his dominion, and made them fit for society; who formed a military discipline by sea and land, and who opened a free passage for the arts and sciences into his native country?

This history contains the transactions of his public life which were useful; and not those of his private life, of which we have but few particulars, and those sufficiently known. It is not for a stranger to disclose the secrets of his cabinet, his bed, or his table. Were any

person capable of furnishing such anecdotes, it must have been Prince Menshikoff, or General Sheremeto, who were long the companions of his most retired hours, but they have not done it; and whatever comes to us, only from the authority of public rumor, does not deserve belief. Men of sense would rather behold a great man, laboring for twenty-five years. for the welfare of a vast empire, than be informed, from vague and idle accounts, of the foibles which this great prince might have in common with the meanest of his subjects.

In what relates only to style, criticism, or the private reputation of an author, it is better to let the herd of petty pamphleteers snarl unnoticed, since it would be making ourselves as ridiculous as they, to lose time in answering or even in reading their productions; but when important facts are concerned, truth must sometimes stoop to confound the falsities of these despicable wretches; their infamy should no more hinder her from clearing herself, than the vileness of a criminal, among the dregs of the people, should stop the course of justice against him. It was this twofold reason, then, that obliged us to silence that impudent ignoramus, who corrupted "The Age of Louis XIV." by notes, as absurd as they were malicious; in which he brutally insults a branch of the house of France, the whole house of Austria, and more than a hundred other illustrious families in Europe; to whose very antechambers he is as much a stranger as to the facts which he has thus insolently falsified.

The ease with which a writer may impose on the public and spread abroad the most flagrant calumnies is unhappily one of the greatest inconveniences attending the noble art of printing.

Levassor, a priest of the oratory, and La Motte, a Jesuit —the one a beggar in England, and the other in Holland— both wrote history for bread. The former chose Louis XIII. of France for the object of his satire, and the latter Louis XIV. The character of apostates was by no means likely to secure them a greater degree of credit with the public; nevertheless, it is pleasant to see with what confidence they both declare themselves the depositaries of truth, incessantly repeating this maxim: "A historian should boldly declare the whole truth." They should have added that he must, in the first place, be acquainted with it himself.

Their own maxim is their fullest condemnation; but even this maxim calls for a strict examination, as it is the excuse of all satirists.

All truths of public utility and importance should,

doubtless, be revealed; but if there should be any malicious anecdote relating to a prince; if in his domestic concerns he may, like a number of private persons, have given too much way to some human frailties, known, perhaps, only to one or two confidants; who had authorized you to reveal to the public what these confidants should not have disclosed to any one? I will grant that you might yourself have discovered this secret; but why should you tear asunder the veil with which every man has a right to cover the recesses of his own house? What is your reason for making the scandal public? You will say to indulge the curiosity of mankind, to please their malice and to sell my book, which otherwise, perhaps, would not be read. You are then only a defamer, a libeller, and a broacher of calumnies, but not a historian.

If this foible of a man in public life; if this private vice which you so industriously endeavor to drag to light has had any influence on public affairs; if it has occasioned the loss of a battle, has hurt the revenue of a state, or made the subject unhappy, then you should mention it. It is your duty to discover the minute and hidden cause which produced such great events; but otherwise you should be silent.

"Let no truth be concealed" is a maxim that may admit of some exceptions; but this one will admit of none: "Acquaint posterity with nothing but what is worthy of posterity."

Besides the falsity in facts, there is also a falsity in drawing characters. The frenzy of loading history with these portraits began first in France with the writing of romances, and the famous Clelia brought the madness into fashion. In the infancy of good taste, Sarrasin wrote his history of the conspiracy of Wallenstein, who was never concerned in any plot; and, in drawing the character of this general, whom he never saw, he has given a translation of almost all that Sallust says of Catiline, whom that historian knew so well. This is writing history in an ingenious manner; but he who makes too great a parade of his wit succeeds only in showing it; which is a matter of very little consequence.

Cardinal de Retz might with propriety give the characters of the principal personages of his time, all of whom he well knew, and who had all been either his friends or his enemies. It is true he has not drawn them as Maimbourg has done those of the princes of past times in his romantic histories. But was the cardinal a faithful painter? Has he not suffered passion and a fondness for novelty to misguide his pencil? Should he, for example, have expressed

himself in this manner of Queen Anne, mother of Louis XIV.? "She had that sort of wit which was just necessary to keep her from appearing a fool in the eyes of those who did not know her. She had more harshness than pride, more pride than true greatness of soul, more show than reality, more regard for money than liberality, more liberality than selfishness, more selfishness than disinterestedness, more attachment than passion, more insensibility than cruelty, more superstition than real piety, more obstinacy than firmness, and more incapacity than of all the rest."

It must be owned that this obscurity of expression, this cluster of antitheses and comparisons, and this burlesque way of drawing characters so unworthy of history, is not very likely to please those of good understanding. The lovers of truth will question the fidelity of the portrait when they compare it with the conduct of the queen; and virtuous minds will be as much disgusted with the ill-nature and contempt which the historian displays in speaking of a princess who loaded him with favors, as incensed to see an archbishop stirring up a civil war, merely, as he himself acknowledges, for the pleasure of doing it.

If we are to suspect the fidelity of these portraits, drawn by those who had such opportunities of painting to the life, how can we credit the bare assertion of a historian who affects to dive into the heart of a prince, that, perhaps, lived six hundred leagues distant from him? In this case he should describe him by his actions, and leave it to those who have long attended his person to tell the balance.

Harangues or set speeches are another species of oratorial falsehood in which historians formerly indulged. They made their heroes say what was possible for them to have said. A liberty of this kind might, indeed, be taken with a personage of remoter times, but at present these fictions are not tolerated; nay, we expect much more; for were a writer, at present, to put into the mouth of a prince a speech which he never made, we should consider such author no longer as a historian, but as a rhetorician.

A third species of falsehood, and the most gross of all, though it has been long the most seducing, is that of the marvellous. This prevails in all the ancient histories, without exception.

Some predictions are still to be met with in "The History of Charles XII.," by Norberg; but we find none in any historians of the present age. Omens, prodigies, and apparitions, are now sent back to the regions of fable. History stood in need of being enlightened by philosophy.

INTRODUCTION.

AT THE beginning of the present century, the vulgar knew no other hero in the North than Charles XII. of Sweden. His personal valor (which was rather that of a private soldier than a great king) the lustre of his victories, and even of his misfortunes, made an impression on those who are easily struck with great events, but are not so clear-sighted in regard to more slow and useful labors. It was even much doubted at that time by foreign nations, whether Czar Peter I. would be able to go through with his great undertakings; yet they have not only continued, but been improved, especially under the empress Elizabeth, his daughter. This empire is at present reckoned in the number of the most flourishing states; and Peter is ranked among the greatest law-givers. Though his undertakings did not stand in need of success in the eyes of wise men, yet his success has perpetuated his glory. We now think that Charles XII. deserved to be the first general under Peter the Great; the one has left only ruins behind him; the other has been a founder of his empire in every sense. I ventured to pass much the same judgment about thirty years ago, when I was writing "The History of Charles XII." The memoirs with which I have been since furnished from the court of Russia, afford me the means of making this empire known, whose people are of such antiquity, while their laws, manners, and arts, are all of a new creation.

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

UNDER PETER THE GREAT.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIA.

THE Empire of Russia is the largest on the entire globe, extending from west to east more than two thousand common leagues of France, and about eight hundred in its greatest breadth from north to south. It borders on Poland and the Arctic Sea, and joins to Sweden and China. Its length from the island of Dago, on the most western part of Livonia, to its most eastern limits, takes in nearly one hundred and seventy degrees, so that when it is noon in the western part of the empire, it is nearly midnight in the eastern. Its breadth from north to south is three thousand six hundred versts, which makes eight hundred and fifty of our common French leagues.

The limits of this country were so little known in the last century that, in 1689, when it was reported that the Chinese and the Russians were at war, and that in order to terminate their differences, the emperor Cam-hi on the one hand, and the czars Ivan, or John, and Peter on the other, had sent their min-

isters to meet an embassy within three hundred leagues of Pekin, on the frontiers of the two empires. This account was at first treated as a fiction.

The country now comprised under the name of Russia, or the Russias, is of greater extent than all the balance of Europe, or than ever the Roman Empire was, or that of Darius subdued by Alexander; for it contains more than one million one hundred thousand square leagues. Neither the Roman Empire, nor that of Alexander, contained more than five hundred and fifty thousand each; and there is not a kingdom in Europe the twelfth part so extensive as the Roman Empire; but to make Russia as populous, as plentiful, and as well stored with towns as our southern countries, would require whole ages, and a race of monarchs such as Peter the Great.

The English ambassador who resided at St. Petersburg in 1733, and who had been at Madrid, says, in his manuscript, that in Spain, which is the least populous state in Europe, there may be reckoned forty persons to every square mile, and in Russia not more than five. We shall see in the second chapter, whether this minister was mistaken. Marshal Vauban, the greatest of engineers, and the best of citizens, computes that in France every square mile contains two hundred inhabitants. These calculations are never very exact, but they serve to show the amazing disproportion in the population of two different countries.

I shall observe here, that from St. Petersburg to Pekin, there is hardly one mountain to be met with in the route which the caravans might take through

independent Tartary, and that from St. Petersburg to the north of France, by way of Dantzic, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, there is not even a hill of any eminence to be seen. This observation leaves room to doubt the truth of that theory which shows the mountains to have been formed by the rolling of the waves of the sea, and supposes all that is at present dry land to have been for a long time covered with water: but how comes it to pass, that the waves, which, according to the supposition, formed the Alps, the Pyrenees, and Mount Taurus, did not also form some eminence or hill from Normandy, to China, which is a winding space of above three thousand leagues? Geography thus considered, may furnish lights to natural philosophy, or at least give room for rational doubts.

Formerly we called Russia by the name of Muscovy, from the city of Moscow, the capital of that empire, and the residence of the grand dukes: but at present the ancient name of Russia prevails.

It is not my business in this place to inquire, why the countries from Smolensk, to the other side of Moscow, were called White Russia, or why Hübner gives it the name of Black, nor for what reason the government of Kiow should be named Red Russia.

It is very likely that Madies the Scythian, who made an irruption into Asia, nearly seven hundred years before our era, might have carried his arms into these regions, as Genghis Khan and Tamerlane did afterward, and as probably others had done long before Madies. Every part of antiquity is not de-

serving of our inquiries; that of the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, and the Egyptians, is ascertained from illustrious and interesting monuments; but these monuments suppose others of a far more ancient date, since it required many ages to teach men the art of transmitting their thoughts by permanent signs, and no less time was required to form a regular language; and yet we have no such monuments, even in this polite part of Europe. The art of writing was for a long time unknown to all the North: the patriarch, Constantine, who wrote the history of Kiow in the Russian language, acknowledges that the use of writing was not known in these countries in the fifth century.

Let others examine whether the Huns, the Slavs, and the Tartars, formerly led their wandering and famished tribes toward the source of the Boristhenes; my design is to show what Czar Peter created, and not to engage in a useless attempt to clear up the chaos of antiquity. We should always keep in mind, that no family on earth knows its founder, and consequently, that no nation knows its origin.

I use the name of Russians to designate the inhabitants of this great empire. That of Roxolanians, which was formerly given them, would indeed be more sonorous, but we should conform to the custom of the language in which we write. Newspapers and other memoirs have for some time used the word "Russians"; but as this name comes too near to that of Prussians, I shall abide by that of Russ, which almost all our writers have given them. Besides it appeared to me, that the people of the

most extensive territory on the earth should be known by some appellation that may distinguish them absolutely from all other nations.

And here it will be necessary for the reader to have recourse to the map, in order to form a clear idea of this empire, which is at present divided into sixteen large governments, that will one day be subdivided, when the northern and eastern countries come to be more inhabited.

These sixteen governments, which contain several immense provinces, are described in pages which follow.

LIVONIA.

The nearest province to our part of the world is that of Livonia, one of the most fruitful in the whole North. In the twelfth century the inhabitants were pagans; at this time certain merchants of Bremen and Lübeck traded in this country, and a body of religious crusaders, called Port-glaives, or sword-bearers, who were afterward incorporated in the Teutonic order, made themselves masters of this province, in the thirteenth century, at the time when the fury of the Crusades armed the Christians against everyone who was not of their religion. Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, grand master of these religious conquerors, made himself sovereign of Livonia and of Brandenburg-Prussia, about the year 1514. From that time, the Russians and Poles began to dispute for the possession of this province. Soon afterward it was invaded by the Swedes, and for a long while continued to be ravaged by these

several powers. Gustavus Adolphus having conquered it, it was then ceded to the Swedes in 1660, by the famous treaty of Oliva; and, at length, Czar Peter wrested it from the latter, as will be seen in the course of this history.

Courland, which joins Livonia, is still in vassalage to Poland, though it depends greatly on Russia. These are the western limits of this empire.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF REVEL, ST. PETERSBURG, AND VIBORG.

More northward is the government of Revel and Esthonia. Revel was built by the Danes in the thirteenth century. The Swedes were in possession of this province, from the time that country put itself under the protection of that crown in 1561. This is another of the conquests of Peter the Great.

On the borders of Esthonia lies the Gulf of Finland. To the eastward of this sea, and at the junction of the Neva with Lake Ladoga, is situated St. Petersburg, the most modern and best built city in the whole empire, founded by Czar Peter, in spite of all the united obstacles which opposed its foundation.

This city is situated on the bay of Kronstadt, in the midst of nine rivers, by which its different quarters are divided. In the centre of this city is an almost impregnable fortress, built on an island, formed by the river Neva: seven canals are cut from the rivers, and wash the walls of one of the royal palaces of the admiralty, of the dockyard for the galleys, and of several manufactories. Thirty-five large

churches help to adorn the city; among which five are allotted for foreigners of the Roman Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran religions: these are so many temples raised to toleration, and examples to other nations. There are five palaces; the old one, called the summer palace, situated on the river Neva, has a very large and beautiful stone balustrade, which runs all along the river side. The new summer palace near the triumphal gate, is one of the finest pieces of architecture in Europe. The admiralty buildings, the school for cadets, the imperial college, the academy of sciences, the exchange, and the merchants' warehouses, are all magnificent structures, and monuments of taste and public utility. The townhouse, the public dispensary, where all the vessels are of porcelain; the court magazines, the foundry, the arsenal, the bridges, the markets, the squares, the barracks for the horse and foot guards, contribute at once to the embellishment and safety of the city, which is said to contain at present four hundred thousand souls. In the environs of the city are several villas or country seats, which surprise all travellers by their magnificence. There is one in particular which has waterworks superior to those of Versailles. There was nothing of all this in 1702, the whole being then an impassable morass. St. Petersburg is considered the capital of Ingria, a small province subdued by Peter I. Viborg, another of his conquests, and that part of Finland which was lost, and ceded by the Swedes in 1742, makes another government.

ARCHANGEL.

Higher up, toward the north, is the province of Archangel, a country entirely new to the southern nations of Europe. It took its name from St. Michael, the Archangel, under whose patronage it was put long after the Russians had embraced Christianity, which did not happen till the beginning of the eleventh century; and they were not known to the other nations of Europe till the middle of the sixteenth. The English, in 1533, endeavoring to find out a northeast passage to the East Indies, Chancellor, captain of one of the ships fitted out for this expedition, discovered the port of Archangel in the White Sea; at that time it was a desert place, having only one convent, and a little church, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel.

The English, sailing up the river Dwina, arrived at the middle part of the country, and at length at Moscow. Here they easily made themselves masters of the trade of Russia, which was removed from the city of Novgorod, where it was carried on by land to this seaport, which is inaccessible, indeed, during seven months in the year; but, nevertheless, this trade proved more beneficial to the empire than the fairs of Novgorod, that had fallen to decay in consequence of the wars with Sweden. The English obtained the privilege of trading thither without paying any duties; a manner of trading which is apparently the most beneficial to all nations. The Dutch soon came in for a share of the trade of Archangel, then unknown to other nations.

Long before this time, the Genoese and Venetians had established trade with the Russians by the mouth of the Tanais or Don, where they had built a town called Tana. This branch of the Italian commerce was destroyed by the ravages of Tamerlane, in that part of the world: but that of Archangel continued, with great advantage both to the English and Dutch, until the time that Peter the Great opened a passage into his dominions by the Baltic Sea.

RUSSIAN LAPLAND.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ARCHANGEL.

To the west of Archangel, and within its government, lies Russian Lapland, the third part of this country, the other two belonging to Sweden and Denmark. This is a very large tract, occupying about eight degrees of longitude, and extending in latitude from the polar circle to the North Cape. The natives of this country were confusedly known to the ancient, under the names of Troglodytes and northern Pygmies; appellations suitable enough to men who, for the most part, are not above four feet and a half high, and dwell in caverns; they are just the same people they were at that time. They are of a tawny complexion, though the other people of the North are white, and for the most part very low in stature; while their neighbors, and the people of Iceland, under the polar circle, are tall: they seem made for their mountainous country, being nimble, squat, and robust; their skins are hard, the better to resist the cold, their thighs and legs are slender,

their feet small, to enable them to run more nimbly among the rocks, with which their province is covered; they are passionately fond of their own country, with which none but themselves can be pleased, and are able to live nowhere else. Some have affirmed, on the credit of Olaus, that these people were originally natives of Finland, and that they removed into Lapland, where they diminished in stature: but why might they not as well have made choice of lands less northerly, where the conveniences of life were more plentiful? How comes it that they differ so radically from their pretended ancestors in features, figure, and complexion? Methinks we might, with as great reason, suppose that the grass which grows in Lapland is produced from that of Denmark, and that the fishes peculiar to their lakes came from those of Sweden. It is most likely that the Laplanders are like their animals, the product of their own country, and that nature has made the one for the other.

Those who inhabit the frontiers of Finland, have adopted some of the expressions of their neighbors, as happens to every people: but when two nations give to things of common use, to objects which are continually before their eyes, names absolutely different, it affords a strong presumption that one of them is not a colony from the other. The Finlanders call a bear *"karu,"* the Laplanders, *"muriet":* the sun in the Finnish language is called *"auringa,"* in Lapland, *"beve."* Here is not the least analogy. The inhabitants of Finland, and Swedish Lapland, formerly worshipped an idol whom they called

"Iumalac," and since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, to whom they are indebted for the appellation of Lutherans, they call Jesus Christ the son of Iumalac. The Muscovite or Russian Laplanders, are at present thought to be of the Greek Church; but those who wander about the mountains of the North Cape are satisfied with adoring one God under certain rude forms, as has been the ancient custom of all the nomadic tribes.

This race of people, who are inconsiderable in numbers, have few ideas, and are happy in not having more, which would only cause them to have new wants which they could not satisfy: at present they live contented, and free from diseases, notwithstanding the excessive coldness of their climate; they drink nothing but water, and attain to a great age. The custom imputed to them of entreating strangers to lie with their wives and daughters, which they esteem as an honor done to them, probably arose from a notion of the superiority of strangers, and a desire of amending, by their means, the defects of their own race. This was a custom established among the virtuous Lacedæmonians. A husband would entreat as a favor, of a comely young man, to give him handsome children, whom he might adopt. Jealousy, and the laws, prevent the rest of mankind from giving their wives up to the embraces of another; but the Laplanders have few or no laws, and are, in all probability, strangers to jealousy.

MOSCOW.

Ascending the river Dwina from north to south, we travel up the country till we come to Moscow, the capital of the empire. This city was long the centre of the Russian dominions, before they were extended on the side of China and Persia.

Moscow, lying in fifty-five degrees and a half north latitude, in a warmer climate, and in a more fruitful locality than that of St. Petersburg, is situated in the midst of a large and delightful plain on the river Moskva, and two lesser rivers, which with the former lose themselves in the Oka, and afterward help to swell the stream of the Volga. In the thirteenth century this city was only a collection of huts, inhabited by a set of miserable wretches oppressed by the descendants of Genghis Khan.

The Kremlin, or ancient palace of the great dukes, was not built until the fourteenth century; of such modern date are cities in this part of the world. This palace was built by Italian architects, as were several churches in the Gothic taste, which then prevailed throughout all Europe. There are two built by the famous Aristotle, of Bologna, who flourished in the fifteenth century; but the private houses were no better than wooden huts.

The first writer who made us acquainted with Moscow was Olearius; who, in 1633, went thither as the companion of an embassy from the duke of Holstein. A native of Holstein must naturally have been struck with wonder at the immense extent of the city of Moscow, with its five quarters, especially

the magnificent one belonging to the czars, and with the Asiatic splendor which then reigned at that court. There was nothing equal to it in Germany at that time, nor any city so extensive or well peopled.

On the contrary, the earl of Carlisle, who was ambassador from Charles II. to Czar Alexis in 1633, complains that he could not meet with any convenience of life in Moscow; no inns on the road, nor refreshments of any kind. One judged as a German, the other as an Englishman, and both by comparison. The Englishman was shocked to see most of the boyards, or Muscovite noblemen, sleep on boards or benches, with only the skins of animals under them; but this was the ancient practice of all nations. The houses, which were almost all built of wood, had scarcely any furniture; few or none of their tables were covered with cloth; there was no pavement in the streets; nothing agreeable; nothing convenient; very few artificers, and those few extremely awkward, and employed only in works of absolute necessity. These people might have passed for Spartans, had they been sober.

But on public days the court displayed all the splendor of a Persian monarch. The earl says he could see nothing but gold and precious stones on the robes of the czar and his courtiers. These dresses were not manufactured in the country; and yet it is evident that the people might be rendered industrious long before that time. In the reign of the czar Boris Godoonof the largest bell in Europe was cast at Moscow, and in the Patriarchal church

there were several ornaments in silver, worked in a very curious manner. These pieces of workmanship, which were made under the direction of Germans and Italians, were only transient efforts. It is daily industry and the continual exercise of a great number of arts that make a nation flourishing. Poland and the neighboring nations were at that time very little superior to the Russians. The handicraft trades were not in greater perfection in the north of Germany, nor were the polite arts much better known than in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Though the city of Moscow at that time had neither the magnificence nor arts of our great cities in Europe, yet its circumference of twenty miles; the part called the Chinese town, where all the rarities of China were exhibited; the spacious quarter of the Kremlin, where stood the palace of the czars; the gilded domes, the lofty and conspicuous turrets; and lastly, the prodigious number of its inhabitants, amounting to near five hundred thousand, rendered Moscow one of the most considerable cities in the world.

Theodore, or Feodor, eldest brother of Peter the Great, began to improve Moscow. He ordered several large houses to be built of stone, though without any regular architecture. He encouraged the principal persons of his court to build, advancing them sums of money, and furnishing them with materials; he was the first who collected studs of fine horses, and made many improvements. Peter, who was attentive to everything, did not neglect Moscow when

he was building St. Petersburg; for he caused it to be paved, adorned it with noble edifices, and enriched it with manufactories; and within these few years, M. de Shoovalof, high chamberlain to the empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, has founded a university in this city. This is the same person who furnished me with the material from which I have compiled the present history, and who was himself much more capable, even in the French language, had not his great modesty determined him to resign the task to me, as will appear from his own letters on this subject, which I have deposited in the public library of Geneva.

SMOLENSK.

Westward of the duchy of Moscow is that of Smolensk, a part of the ancient Sarmatia Europea. The duchies of Moscow and Smolensk composed what is properly called White Russia. Smolensk, which at first belonged to the great dukes of Russia, was conquered by the great duke of Lithuania in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was retaken one hundred years afterward by its old masters. Sigismund III., king of Poland, got possession of it in 1611. Czar Alexis, father of Peter I., recovered it again in 1654, since which time it has always constituted part of the Russian Empire. The panegyric of Peter the Great, delivered in the Academy of Sciences in Paris, takes notice that before his time the Russians had made no conquests either to the west or south; but this is evidently a mistake.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF NOVGOROD AND KIOW, OR THE UKRAINE.

Between St. Petersburg and Smolensk lies the province of Novgorod, and is said to be the country in which the ancient Slavs, or Slavonians, made their first settlements. But whence came these Slavs, whose language has spread over all the north-east part of Europe? *Sla* signifies chief, and *Slave* one belonging to a chief. All that we know concerning these ancient Slavs is, that they were a race of conquerors; that they built the city of Novgorod the Great at the head of a navigable river; and that this city had for a long time a flourishing trade, and was a potent ally to the Hanse Towns. Czar Iwan Vasielivitch—or John Basilovitch—made a conquest of it in 1467, and carried away all its riches, which contributed to the magnificence of the court of Moscow, till then almost unknown.

To the south of the province of Smolensk we meet with the province of Kieff, otherwise called the Lesser Russia, Red Russia, or the Ukraine, through which runs the Dnieper, called by the Greeks the Boristhenes. The difference in these two names, the one so harsh, the other so melodious, serves to show us, together with a hundred other like instances, the rudeness of all the ancient people of the North, in comparison with the graces of the Greek language. Kieff, the capital city, formerly Kisow, was built by the emperors of Constantinople, who made it a colony; here are still to be seen several Greek inscriptions more than twelve hundred years

old. This is the only city of any antiquity in these countries, where men lived so long together without building walls. Here it was that the great dukes of Russia held their residence in the eleventh century, before the Tartars brought it under their subjection.

The inhabitants of the Ukraine, called Cossacks, are a mixture of the ancient Roxolanians, Sarmatians, and Tartars. Rome and Constantinople, though so long the mistresses of other countries, are not to be compared in fertility with the Ukraine. Nature has there exerted her utmost efforts for the service of mankind; but they have not seconded those efforts by industry, living only on the spontaneous productions of an uncultivated, but fruitful soil and the exercise of rapine. Though fond to a degree of enthusiasm of that most valuable of all blessings, liberty, yet they were always in subjection, either to the Poles or the Turks, till the year 1654, when they threw themselves into the arms of Russia, but with some limitations. At length they were entirely subdued by Peter the Great.

Other nations are divided into cities and towns; this into ten regiments, at the head of which is a chief, who used to be elected by a majority of votes, and bears the title of hetman or ataman. This captain of the nation was not invested with supreme power. At present the ataman is nominated by the czar, from among the great lords of the court; and is, in fact, no more than the governor of the province, like governors of the Pays d'États in France, that have retained some privileges.

At first the inhabitants of this country were all either pagans or Mahometans; but when they entered into the service of Poland they were baptized Christians of the Roman communion; and now that they are in the service of Russia, they belong to the Greek Church.

Among these are comprehended the Zaporavian Cossacks, who are much the same as our buccaneers or freebooters, living on rapine. They are distinguished from all other people by never admitting women to live among them; as the Amazons are said never to have admitted any man. The women whom they make use of for propagation live on other islands in the river; they have no marriages among them, nor any domestic economy; they enroll the male children in their militia, and leave the girls to the care of their mothers. A brother frequently has children by his sister, and a father by his daughter. They know no other laws than customs introduced by necessity; however, they make use of some prayers from the Greek ritual. Fort St. Elizabeth has been lately built on the Boristhenes to keep them in awe. They serve as irregulars in the Russian army, and hapless is the fate of those who fall into their hands.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF BIELGOROD, VORONEZH, AND NIJNI-NOVGOROD.

To the northeast of the province of Kieff, between the Boristhenes and the Tanais, or Don, is the government of Bielgorod, which is as large as that of Kieff. This is one of the most fruitful provinces of Russia, and furnishes Poland with a prodigious

number of those large cattle known by the name of the Ukraine oxen. These two provinces are secured from the incursions of the petty Tartar tribes by lines extending from the Boristhenes to the Tanais, and are well furnished with forts and redoubts.

Farther northward we cross the Tanais and come into the government of Voronezh or Veronise, which extends as far as the Sea of Azov. In the neighborhood of the capital of this province, which is called by the Russians Voronezh, at the mouth of the river of the same name, which falls into the Don, Peter the Great built his first fleet; an undertaking which was at that time entirely new to the inhabitants of these vast dominions. Thence we come to the government of Nijni-Novgorod, abounding with grain, and watered by the river Volga.

ASTRAKHAN.

From the latter province we proceed southward to the kingdom of Astrakhan. This country reaches from forty-three and a half degrees north latitude, in a most delightful climate, to near fifty degrees, including about as many degrees of longitude as of latitude. It is bounded on one side by the Caspian Sea, and on the other by the mountains of Circassia, projecting beyond the Caspian, along Mount Caucasus. It is watered by the great river Volga, the Sok, and several other lesser streams, between which, according to Mr. Perry, the English engineer, canals might be cut that would serve as reservoirs to receive the overflowing waters; and by that means answer the same purposes as the canals of

the Nile, and make the soil more fruitful; but to the right and left of the Volga and Sok this fine country was inhabited, or rather infested, by Tartars, who never apply themselves to agriculture, but have always lived as strangers and sojourners on the face of the earth.

The engineer, Perry, who was employed by Peter the Great in these parts, found a vast tract of land covered with pasture, leguminous plants, cherry and almond trees, and large flocks of wild sheep, which fed in these solitary places and whose flesh was excellent. The inhabitants of these countries must be conquered and civilized, in order to second the efforts of nature, which has been forced in the climate of St. Petersburg.

The kingdom of Astrakhan is a part of the ancient Capshak, conquered by Genghis Khan, and afterward by Tamerlane, whose dominion extended as far as Moscow. The czar John Basilides, grandson of John Basilovitch, and the greatest conqueror of all the Russian princes, delivered his country from the Tartar yoke in the sixteenth century, and added the kingdom of Astrakhan to his other conquests in 1554.

Astrakhan is the boundary of Asia and Europe, and is so situated as to be able to carry on a trade with both, as merchandise may be conveyed from the Caspian Sea up to this town by means of the Volga. This was one of the grand schemes of Peter the Great, and has been partly carried into execution. An entire suburb of Astrakhan is inhabited by Indians.

ORENBURG.

To the southeast of the kingdom of Astrakhan is a small country called Orenburg. The town of this name was built in the year 1734 on the banks of the river Sok. This province is covered with hills, that are parts of Mount Caucasus. The passes in these mountains, and of the rivers that run down from them, are defended by forts raised at equal distances. In this region, formerly uninhabited, the Persians come at present to hide from the rapacity of robbers such of their effects as have escaped the fury of the civil wars. The city of Orenburg is the asylum of the Persians and their riches, and has profited by their calamities. The natives of Great Bokhara come hither to trade, so that it has become the mart of Asia.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF KAZAN AND OF PERM.

Beyond the Volga and Sok, toward the north, lies the kingdom of Kazan, which, like that of Astrakhan, fell by partition to one of the sons of Genghis Khan, and afterward to a son of Tamerlane, and was at length conquered by John Basilides. It is still inhabited by a number of Mahometan Tartars. This vast country stretches as far as Siberia; it is said to have been formerly very flourishing and rich, and still retains some part of its pristine opulence. A province of this kingdom, called Perm, and since Solikamsk, was the market for the merchandise of Persia and the furs of Tartary. There has been found in Perm a great quantity of the coin

of the first caliphs, and some Tartar idols made of gold; but these monuments of ancient opulence were found in the midst of barren deserts and extreme poverty, where there were not the least traces of commerce; revolutions of this nature may easily happen to a barren country, seeing they are so soon brought about in the most fruitful provinces.

The famous Swedish prisoner, Strahlemberg, who made such advantageous use of his misfortunes, and who examined those extensive countries with so much attention, was the first who gave an air of probability to a fact which before had been always thought incredible, namely, concerning the ancient commerce of these provinces. Pliny and Pomponius Mela relate that, in the reign of Augustus, a king of the Suevi made a present to Metellus Celer of some Indians who had been cast by a storm on the coasts bordering on the Elbe. But how could inhabitants of India navigate the Germanic seas? This adventure was deemed fabulous by all our moderns, especially after the change made in the commerce of our hemisphere by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. But formerly it was no more extraordinary to see an Indian trading to the northwest of his country than to see a Roman go from India by way of Arabia. The Indians went to Persia, thence embarked on the Caspian Sea, and ascending the Rha, now the Volga, got to Perm through the river Kama; whence they might take shipping again on the Black Sea, or the Baltic. There have, in all times, been enterprising men. The Tyrians undertook most surprising voyages.

If, after surveying all these vast provinces, we direct our view toward the East, we shall find the limits of Europe and Asia again confounded. A new name is wanting for this considerable part of the globe. The ancients divided their known world into Europe, Asia, and Africa; but they had not seen the tenth part of it; hence it happens that when we pass the Sea of Azov, we are at a loss to know where Europe ends or Asia begins; all that tract of country lying beyond Mount Taurus was distinguished by the general appellation of Scythia, and afterward by that of Tartary. It might not be improper, perhaps, to give the name of *Terræ Arcticæ,* or Northern Lands, to the country extending from the Baltic Sea to the confines of China; as that of *Terræ Australes,* or Southern Lands, is to that equally extensive part of the world situated near the Antarctic Pole, and which serves to counterpoise the globe.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF SIBERIA, OF THE SAMOYEDS, THE OSTIAKS, KAMCHATKA, ETC.

Siberia, with the territories beyond it, extends from the frontiers of the provinces of Archangel, Resan, and Astrakhan, eastward as far as the Sea of Japan; it joined the southern parts of Russia by Mount Caucasus; thence to the country of Kamchatka, is about twelve hundred French leagues; and from southern Tartary, which serves as its boundary, to the Frozen Sea, about four hundred, which is the least breadth of the Russian Empire. This country produces the richest furs; and this caused the discovery of it in the year 1563.

In the sixteenth century, in the reign of Czar John Basilides, and not in that of Feodor Johannowitz, a private person in the neighborhood of Archangel, named Anika, one tolerably rich for his condition of life and country, took notice, that certain men of extraordinary figure, dressed in a manner unknown to that country, and who spoke a language understood by no one but themselves, came every year down a river which flows into the Dwina, and brought martens and black foxes, which they bartered for nails and pieces of glass, just as the first savages of America used to exchange their gold with the Spaniards. He caused them to be followed by his sons and servants, as far as their own country. These were the Samoyeds, a people resembling the Laplanders, but of a different race. They are, like that people, unacquainted with the use of bread; and like them, they yoke reindeer to draw their sledges. They live in caverns and huts, amidst the snow; but in other respects, nature has made a visible difference between this species of men and the Laplanders. The upper jaw projects, so as to be on a level with the nose, and the ears are placed higher. Neither the men nor the women have hair on any other part of their bodies than their heads; and their nipples are of a deep black, like ebony. The Laplanders are distinguished by no such marks. According to memoirs sent from these countries, I have been informed that the author of the curious natural history of the king's garden is mistaken, where, in speaking of the many curiosities in human nature, he confounds the Lapland race with that

of the Samoyeds. There are many more different species of men than is commonly thought.

The Samoyeds are as singular in their moral as in their physical distinctions; they worship no supreme being; they border on Manichæism, or rather on the religion of the ancient Magi, in this one point, that they acknowledge a good and an evil principle. The horrible climate they inhabit may in some measure excuse this belief, which is of such ancient date, and so natural to those who are ignorant and unhappy.

Theft or murder is never heard of among them; being in a manner devoid of passions, they are strangers to injustice; they have no terms in their language to denote vice and virtue, their extreme simplicity has not yet permitted them to form abstract ideas, they are wholly guided by sensation, and this is perhaps an incontestable proof that men naturally love justice, when not blinded by inordinate passions.

Some of these savages were prevailed on to go to Moscow, where many things they saw filled them with admiration. They gazed on the emperor as their god, and voluntarily engaged for themselves and countrymen a present of two martens or sables every year for each inhabitant. Colonies were soon settled beyond the Obi and the Irtish, and some forts built. In the year 1595 a Cossack officer was sent into this country, who conquered it for the czar with only a few soldiers and some artillery, as Cortes did Mexico; but he only made a conquest of barren deserts.

In sailing up the Obi to the junction of the river Irtish with the Tobol, they found a petty settlement, which they converted into the town of Tobolsk, now the capital of Siberia, and a large city. Who could imagine that this country was for a long time the residence of those Huns, who, under Attila, carried their depredations as far as the gates of Rome, and that the Huns came from the north of China? The Usbeg Tartars succeeded the Huns, and the Russians the Usbegs. The possession of these savage countries has been disputed with as much murderous fury as that of the most fruitful provinces. Siberia was formerly better peopled than it is at present, especially toward the southern parts; if we may judge from the rivers and sepulchral monuments.

This part of the world, from the sixtieth degree of latitude or thereabouts, as far as those mountains of perpetual ice which border the north seas, is totally different from the regions of the temperate zone; the earth produces neither the same plants nor the same animals, nor are there the same sort of fishes in their lakes and rivers.

Below the country of the Samoyeds lies that of the Ostiaks, along the river Obi. These people have no resemblance to the Samoyeds, save that, like them, and all the first races of men, they are hunters, fishermen, and shepherds; some of them have no religion, not being formed into any society, and the others, who live together in herds or clans, have a kind of worship, and pray to the principal object of

their wants; they adore the skin of a sheep, because this creature is the most serviceable to them; just as the Egyptian husbandmen made choice of an ox, as an emblem of the Deity who created that creature for the use of man.

The Ostiaks have other idols, whose origin and worship are as little deserving our notice as their worshippers. There were some converts to Christianity made among them in the year 1712; but these, like the lowest of our peasants, are Christians without knowing what they profess. Several writers pretend that these people were natives of Great Perm, but as Great Perm is in a manner a desert, how comes it that its inhabitants should settle at such a distance, and so inconveniently? This is a difficulty not worth clearing up. Every nation which has not cultivated the polite arts deserves to remain in obscurity.

In the country of the Ostiaks in particular, and among their neighbors the Burates and Yakuts, they often discover a kind of ivory under ground, the nature of which is as yet unknown. Some take it to be a sort of fossil, and others the tooth of a species of elephants, the breed of which has been destroyed: but where is the country that does not afford some natural productions which astonish and confound philosophy?

Several mountains in this country abound with amianth or asbestos, a kind of incombustible flax, of which a sort of cloth is made.

To the south of the Ostiaks are the Burates,

another people who have not yet been made Christians. Eastward there are several tribes, whom the Russians have not as yet entirely subdued.

None of these people have the least knowledge of the calendar. They reckon their time by snows, and not by the apparent motion of the sun: as it snows regularly, and for a long time every winter, they say, "I am so many snows old," just as we say, "I am so many years."

And here I must relate the accounts given by the Swedish officer Strahlemberg, who was taken prisoner in the battle of Pultava, lived fifteen years in Siberia, and made a complete tour of that country. He says there are still some remains of an ancient people, whose skin is spotted or variegated, and that he himself had seen some of them; and the fact has been confirmed to me by Russians born at Tobolsk. The species seems to be greatly diminished, as we find very few of these extraordinary people, and they have probably been exterminated by some other race; for instance, there are very few Albinos, or White Moors; I saw one of them who was presented to the Academy of Sciences at Paris. It is the same with respect to several other species of rare animals.

As to the Borandians, of whom mention is made so frequently in the learned history of the king's garden, my memoirs say, that this race of people is entirely unknown to the Russians.

All the southern part of these countries is peopled by numerous hordes of Tartars. The ancient Turks came from this part of Tartary to conquer these ex-

tensive countries, of which they are at present in possession. The Kalmucks and Mongols are the very Scythians who, under Madies, made themselves masters of upper Asia, and conquered Cyaxares, king of the Medes. They are the men whom Genghis Khan and his sons led afterward as far as Germany, and was termed the Mogul Empire under Tamerlane. These people afford a lively instance of the vicissitudes which have happened to all nations; some of their hordes, instead of being formidable now, are vassals of Russia.

Among these is a nation of Kalmucks, dwelling between Siberia and the Caspian Sea, where, in the year 1720, there was discovered a subterranean house of stone, with urns, lamps, ear-rings, an equestrian statue of an Oriental prince, with a diadem on his head, two women seated on thrones, and a roll of manuscripts, which were sent by Peter the Great to the Academy of Inscriptions in Paris, and proved to be written in the Thibetan language: all these are striking proofs that the liberal arts formerly existed in this now barbarous country, and are lasting evidences of the truth of what Peter the Great was wont to say—that the arts had made the tour of the globe.

The last province is Kamchatka, the most eastern part of the continent. The inhabitants were absolutely void of all religion when they were first discovered. The northern part of this country afforded fine furs, with which the inhabitants clothed themselves in winter, though they went naked in the summer. The first discoverers were surprised to

find in the southern parts men with long beards, while in the northern parts, from the country of the Samoyeds, as far as the mouth of the river Amur, they have no more beards than the Americans. Thus, in the Empire of Russia, there is a greater number of different species, more singularities, and a greater diversity of manners and customs than in any other country in the known world.

The discovery of this country was made by a Cossack officer, who went by land from Siberia to Kamchatka in 1701, by order of Peter the Great, who, notwithstanding his misfortune at Narva, still continued to extend his rule from one extremity of the continent to the other. Afterward, in 1725, some time before his death, in the midst of his great exploits, he sent Captain Bering, a Dane, with express orders to find out, if possible, a passage by the Sea of Kamchatka, to the coast of America. Bering did not succeed in his first attempt; but the empress Anne sent him out again, in 1733. M. Spengenberg, captain of the ship, his associate in this voyage, set out first from Kamchatka, but could not put to sea till the year 1739, so much time was taken up in getting to the port where they were to embark, in building and fitting out the ships, and providing the necessaries. Spengenberg sailed as far as the northern part of Japan, through a strait, formed by a long chain of islands, and returned without having discovered the passage.

In 1741, Bering cruised all over this sea, in company with de Lisle de la Croyere, the astronomer, of the family of L'Isle, which has produced such

excellent geographers; another captain likewise went on the same discovery. They both made the coast of America, to the northward of California. Thus the northeast passage, so long sought after, was at length discovered, but there was no subsistence to be found in those barren coasts. Their fresh water failed them, and part of the crew died of scurvy. They saw the northern bank of California for more than a hundred miles, and saw some leathern canoes, with just such a class of people in them as the Canadians. All their endeavors, however, proved fruitless: Bering ended his life on an island, to which he gave his name. The other captain happening to be closer to the Californian coast, sent ten of his people on shore, who never returned. The captain, after waiting for them in vain, found himself obliged to return to Kamchatka, and de Lisle died as he was going ashore. Such are the disasters that have generally attended every new attempt on the northern seas. But what advantages may yet arise from these dangerous voyages, time alone can disclose.

We have now described the different provinces that compose the Russian dominions, from Finland to the sea of Japan. The largest parts of this empire have been united at different times, as has been the case in all other kingdoms in the world. The Scythians, Huns, Massagetæ, Slavs, Cimbrians, Getæ, and Sarmatians are now subjects of the czar. The Russians, properly so called, are the ancient Roxolani, or Slavs.

Upon reflection, we shall find that most states

were formed in the same manner. The French are an assemblage of Goths, of Danes called Normans, of northern Germans, called Burgundians; of Franks, and some Romans mixed with the ancient Celts. In Rome and Italy there are several families descended from the people of the North, but none that we know of from the ancient Romans. The supreme pontiff is frequently the offspring of a Lombard, a Goth, a Teuton, or a Cimbrian. The Spaniards are a race of Arabs, Carthaginians, Jews, Tyrians, Visigoths, and Vandals, incorporated with the ancient inhabitants of the country. When nations are thus intermixed, it is a long time before they are civilized, or even before their language is formed. Some indeed receive these sooner, others later. Polity and the liberal arts are so difficult to establish, and the newly-raised structure is so often destroyed by revolutions, that we may wonder that all nations are not as barbarous as Tartars.

CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIA, POPULATION, FINANCES, ARMIES, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, ETC.

THE more civilized a country is, the better it is peopled. Thus China and India are more populous than any other empires, because, after a multitude of revolutions, which changed the face of sublunary affairs, these two nations made the earliest establishments in civil society: the antiquity of their gov-

ernment, which has existed more than four thousand years, supposes, as we have already observed, many efforts in preceding ages. The Russians came very late; but the arts having been introduced among them in their full perfection, they have made more progress in fifty years than any other nation had done before them in five hundred. The country is far from being populous, in proportion to its extent; but such as it is, it has as great a number of inhabitants as any other state in Christendom. From the census, and the register of merchants, artificers, and male peasants, I might safely assert that Russia, at present, contains at least twenty-four millions of male inhabitants: of these twenty-four millions, the greatest part are villeins or bondmen, as in Poland, several provinces of Germany, and formerly throughout all Europe. The estate of a gentleman in Russia and Poland is computed, not by his increase in money, but by the number of his slaves.

The following is a list, taken in 1747, of all the males who paid the per capita or poll-tax:

Merchants or tradesmen	198,000
Handicrafts	16,500
Peasants incorporated with the merchants and handicrafts	1,950
Peasants called Odonoskis, who contribute to maintain the militia	430,220
Others who do not contribute thereto	26,080
Workmen of different trades, whose parents are not known	1,000
Others who are not incorporated with the companies of tradesmen	4,700
Peasants immediately dependent on the crown, about	555,000
Persons employed in the mines belonging to the crown, partly Christians, partly Mahometans and pagans	64,000

Other peasants belonging to the crown, who work in the mines, and in private manufactories...	24,200
New converts to the Greek Church.....	57,000
Tartars and Ostiaks (peasants).....	241,000
Mourses, Tartars, Mordauts, and others, whether pagans or Christians, employed by the admiralty.....	7,800
Tartars subject to contribution, called Tepteris, Bobilitz, etc.	28,900
Bondmen to several merchants, and other privileged persons, who, though not landholders, are allowed to have slaves.....	9,100
Peasants on the lands set apart for the support of the crown.....	418,000
Peasants on the lands belonging to her majesty, independently of the rights of the crown.....	60,500
Peasants on the lands confiscated to the crown....	13,600
Bondmen belonging to gentlemen.....	3,550,000
Bondmen belonging to the assembly of the clergy, and who defray other expenses.....	37,500
Bondmen belonging to bishops.....	116,400
Bondmen belonging to convents, whose numbers were reduced by Peter the Great.....	721,500
Bondmen belonging to cathedral and parish churches.	23,700
Peasants employed as laborers in the docks of the admiralty, or in other public works, about....	4,000
Laborers in the mines, and in private manufactories.	16,000
Peasants on the lands assigned to the principal manufactories.	14,500
Laborers in the mines belonging to the crown.....	300
Bastards brought up by the clergy.....	40
Sectaries called Rasholniks.....	2,200
	6,643,690

Here we have six millions, six hundred and forty-three thousand, six hundred and ninety male persons, who pay the poll-tax. In this number are included boys and old men; but girls and women are not reckoned, nor boys born between the making of one register of the lands and another. Now, if we

only reckon triple the number of heads subject to be taxed, including women and girls, we shall find nearly twenty millions of souls.

To this number we may add the military list, which amounts to three hundred and fifty thousand men. Besides, neither the nobility nor clergy, who are computed at two hundred thousand, are subject to this tax.

Foreigners, of whatever country or profession, are likewise exempt: as also the inhabitants of the conquered countries, namely: Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Karelia, and a part of Finland, the Ukraine, and the Don Cossacks, the Kalmucks, and other Tartars, Samoyeds, the Laplanders, the Ostiaks, and all the idolatrous people of Siberia, a country of greater extent than China, which are not included in this list.

By the same calculation, it is impossible that the total of the inhabitants of Russia should amount to less than twenty-four millions. At this rate, there are eight persons to every square mile. The English ambassador, whom I have mentioned before, allows only five; but he certainly was not furnished with such faithful data as those with which I have been favored.

Russia, therefore, is exactly five times less populous than Spain, but contains nearly four times the number of inhabitants: it is almost as populous as France or Germany; but if we consider its vast extent, the number of souls is thirty times less.

There is one important remark to be made in regard to this enumeration, namely, that out of six mil-

lion six hundred and forty thousand people liable to the poll-tax, there are about nine hundred thousand that belong to the Russian clergy, without reckoning either the ecclesiastics of the conquered countries, of the Ukraine, or of Siberia.

Therefore, out of seven persons liable to the poll-tax, the clergy have one; but nevertheless they are far from possessing the seventh part of the whole revenues of the state, as is the case in many other kingdoms, where they have at least a seventh of all estates; for their peasants pay a tax to the sovereign; and the other taxes of the crown of Russia, in which the clergy have no share, are very considerable.

This valuation is very different from that of all other writers on the affairs of Russia; so that foreign ministers, who have transmitted memoirs of this state to their courts, have been greatly mistaken. The archives of the empire are alone to be consulted.

It is very probable that Russia has been better peopled than it is at present; before smallpox, which came from the extremities of Arabia, and the malady that came from America, had spread over these climates, where they have now taken root. The world owes these two dreadful scourges, which have depopulated it more than all its wars, the one to Mahomet, and the other to Christopher Columbus. The plague, which is a native of Africa, seldom approached the countries of the North. Besides, the people of those countries, from Sarmatia to the Tartars, who dwell beyond the great wall, having over-

spread the world by their irruptions, this ancient nursery of the human species must have been surprisingly diminished.

In this vast extent of country, there are said to be about seventy-four thousand monks, and five thousand nuns, notwithstanding the care taken by Peter the Great to reduce their number; a care worthy the ruler of an empire, where the human race is so remarkably deficient. These thirteen thousand persons, thus immured and lost to the state, have, as the reader may have observed, seventy-two thousand bondmen to till their lands, which is evidently too great a number; there cannot be a stronger proof of how difficult it is to eradicate abuses of long standing.

I find, by a list of the revenues of the empire in 1735, that reckoning the tribute paid by the Tartars, with all taxes and duties in money, the sum total amounted to thirteen millions of rubles, which make sixty-five millions of French livres, exclusive of tributes in kind. This moderate sum was at that time sufficient to maintain three hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred, sea as well as land forces: but both the revenues and troops are augmented since that time.

The customs, diets, and manners of the Russians always bore a greater affinity to those of Asia than to those of Europe: such was the old custom of receiving tribute in kind, of defraying the expenses of ambassadors on their journeys, and during their residence in the country, and of never appearing at church, or in the royal presence, with a sword; an

Oriental custom, directly the reverse of that ridiculous and barbarous one among us, of addressing ourselves to God, to our king, to our friends, and to our women, with an offensive weapon, which hangs down to the bottom of the leg. The long robe worn on public days, had a nobler air than the short habits of the western nations of Europe. A vest, lined and turned up with fur, with a long scimitar, adorned with jewels for festival days; and those high turbans, which add to the stature, were much more striking to the eye than our perukes and close coats, and more suitable to cold climates; but this ancient dress of all nations seems to be not so well contrived for war, nor so convenient for working people. Most of their other customs were rustic; but we must not imagine that their manners were as barbarous as some writers would have us believe. Albert Krants relates a story of an Italian ambassador, whom the czar ordered to have his hat nailed to his head, for not pulling it off while he was making a speech to him. Others attribute this adventure to a Tartar, and others again to a French ambassador.

Olearius pretends that the czar Michael Feodorovitch banished the marquis of Exideüil, ambassador from Henry IV. of France, into Siberia; but it is certain that this monarch sent no ambassador to Moscow, and that there never was a marquis of Exideüil in France. In the same manner travellers speak about the country of Borandia, and of the trade they have carried on with the people of Nova Zembla, which is scarcely inhabited at all, and the

long conversations they have had with some of the Samoyeds, as if they understood their language. Were the enormous compilations of voyages to be cleared of everything untrue or useless in them, both the works and the public would be gainers by it.

The Russian government resembled that of the Turks, in respect to the standing forces, or guards, called strelitzes, who, like the janissaries, sometimes disposed of the crown, and frequently disturbed the state as much as they defended it. Their number was about forty thousand. Those who were dispersed in the provinces, subsisted by rapine and plunder; those in Moscow lived like citizens, followed trades, did no duty, and carried their insolence to the greatest excess: in short, there was no other way to preserve peace and good order in the kingdom, but by overcoming them; a very necessary, and at the same time a very dangerous, step.

The public revenue does not exceed five millions of rubles, or about twenty-five millions of French livres. This was sufficient when Czar Peter came to the crown to maintain the ancient mediocrity, but was not a third part of what was necessary to go certain lengths, and to render himself and people considerable in Europe: but at the same time many of their taxes were paid in kind, according to the Turkish custom, which is less burdensome to the people than that of paying their tributes in money.

THE TITLE OF CZAR.

As to the title of czar, it may possibly come from the Tzars or Tchars of the kingdom of Kazan.

When John, or Ivan Basilides, completed the conquest of this kingdom, which had been begun by his grandfather, who afterward lost it, he assumed this title, which his successors have retained ever since. Before the time of John Basilides, the sovereign of Russia took the title of *Welike Knez,* i. e., great prince, great lord, great chief, which the Christian nations afterward rendered by that of great duke. Czar Michael Feodorovitch, when he received the Holstein embassy, took to himself the following titles: "Great knez, and great lord, conservator of all the Russias, prince of Wolodimer, Moscow, Novgorod, etc., tzar of Kazan, tzar of Astrakhan, and tzar of Siberia." Tzar was, therefore, a title belonging to these eastern princes; and, therefore, it is more probable it was derived from the Tshas of Persia, than from the Roman Cæsars, of whom the Siberian Tzars, on the banks of the Obi, can hardly be supposed to have ever heard.

No title, however pompous, is of any consequence, if those who bear it are not great and powerful of themselves. The word "emperor," which originally signified no more than "general of the army," became the title of the sovereign of the Roman republic: it is now given to the supreme governor of all the Russias more justly than to any other potentate, if we consider the power and extent of his dominions.

RELIGION.

The established religion of Russia has, ever since the eleventh century, been that of the Greek Church, so called in opposition to the Latin, although

there were always a greater number of Mahometan and pagan provinces than of those inhabited by Christians. Siberia, as far as China, was in a state of idolatry; and in some of the provinces they were utter strangers to all kinds of religion.

Perry, the engineer, and Baron Strahlemberg, who both resided many years in Russia, tell us that they found more sincerity and probity among the pagans than the other inhabitants; not that paganism made them more virtuous, but their manner of living freed them from all the tumultuous passions; and, in consequence, they were known for their integrity.

Christianity did not get a footing in Russia and the other countries of the North till very late. It is said that a princess named Olha first introduced it, about the end of the tenth century, as Clotilda, niece of an Arian prince, did among the Franks; the wife of Miceslaus, duke of Poland, among the Poles; and the sister of Emperor Henry II. among the Hungarians. Women are naturally easily persuaded by the ministers of religion, and they easily persuade the other part of mankind.

It is further added that Princess Olha caused herself to be baptized at Constantinople, by the name of Helena; and that as soon as she embraced Christianity, Emperor John Zimisces fell in love with her. It is most likely that she was a widow; however, she refused the emperor. The example of Princess Olha, or Olga, as she is called, did not at first make any great number of proselytes. Her son, who reigned a long time, was not of the same way

of thinking as his mother; but her grandson, Wolodimer, who was born of a concubine, having murdered his brother and mounted the throne, sued for the alliance of Basiles, emperor of Constantinople, but could obtain it only on condition of receiving baptism: and this event, which happened in the year 987, was at the time when the Greek Church was first established in Russia. Photius, the patriarch, so famous for his immense erudition, his disputes with the Church of Rome, and for his misfortunes, sent a person to baptize Wolodimer, in order to add this part of the world to the patriarchal see.

Wolodimer, or Wolodomar, therefore completed the work which his grandmother had begun. A Greek was made the first metropolitan, or patriarch, of Russia; and from this time, the Russians adopted an alphabet, taken partly from the Greek. This would have been of advantage to them, had they not still retained the principles of their own language, which is the Slavonian in everything but a few terms relating to their liturgy and church government. One of the Greek patriarchs, named Jeremiah, having a suit pending before the Divan, came to Moscow to present it; where, after some time, he resigned his authority over the Russian churches, and consecrated as patriarch the archbishop of Novgorod, named Job. This was in the year 1588, from which time the Russian Church became as independent as its empire. The patriarch of Russia has ever since been consecrated by the Russian bishops, and not by the patriarch of Constantinople. He

ranked in the Greek Church next to the patriarch of Jerusalem, but he was in fact the only free and powerful patriarch; and consequently, the only real one. Those of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria are mercenary chiefs of a church, enslaved by the Turks; and even the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch are no longer considered as such, having no more credit or influence in Turkey than the rabbis of the Jewish synagogues settled there.

It was from a person who was patriarch of all the Russias that Peter the Great was descended in a direct line. These new prelates soon wanted to share the sovereign authority with the czars. They thought it not enough that their prince walked bareheaded once a year before the patriarch, leading his horse by the bridle. These external marks of respect only served to increase their thirst for rule; a passion which proved the source of great troubles in Russia, as well as in other countries.

Nicon, whom the monks look on as a saint, and who was patriarch in the reign of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great, wanted to raise his dignity above that of the throne; for he not only assumed the privilege of sitting by the side of the czar in the senate, but pretended that neither war nor peace could be made without his consent. His authority was so great that, being supported by his immense wealth, and by his intrigues with the clergy and the people, he kept his master in a kind of subjection. He had the boldness to excommunicate some senators who opposed his excessive insolence; till at

length Alexis, finding himself not powerful enough to depose him by his own authority, was obliged to convene a synod of all the bishops. There the patriarch was accused of having received money from the Poles; and being convicted, was deposed and confined for the remainder of his days in a monastery, after which the prelates chose another patriarch in his stead.

From the infancy of Christianity in Russia, there have been several sects there, as well as in other countries; for sects are as frequently the fruit of ignorance, as of pretended knowledge: but Russia is the only Christian state of any extent in which religion has not excited civil wars, though it has felt some occasional tumults.

The Raskolniks, who consist at present of about two thousand males, and who are mentioned in the foregoing list, are the most ancient sect of any in this country. It was established in the twelfth century, by some enthusiasts, who had a superficial knowledge of the New Testament; they made use then, and still do, of the old pretence of all sectaries, that of following the letter, and accused all other Christians of remissness. They would not permit a priest, who had drunk brandy, to baptize; they affirmed, in the words of our Saviour, that there is neither a first nor a last, among the faithful; and held that one of the elect might kill himself for the love of his Saviour. According to them, it is a great sin to repeat the hallelujah three times; and, therefore, repeat it only twice. The benediction is to be given only with three fingers. In other re-

spects, no society can be more regular or strict in its morals. They live like the Quakers, and, like them, do not admit any other Christians into their assemblies, which is the reason that these have accused them of all the abominations of which the heathens accused the primitive Galileans, the Galileans the Gnostics, and the Roman Catholics the Protestants. They have been frequently accused of cutting the throat of an infant, and drinking its blood; and of mixing together in their private ceremonies, without distinction of kindred, age, or even of sex. They have been persecuted at times, and then they shut themselves up in their hamlets, set fire to their houses, and threw themselves into the flames. Peter took the only method of reclaiming them, which was by letting them live in peace.

In all this vast empire, there are but twenty-eight episcopal sees; and in Peter's time there were but twenty-two. This small number was, perhaps, one of the causes to which the Russian Church owes its tranquillity. So very circumscribed was the knowledge of the clergy, that Czar Feodor, brother of Peter the Great, was the first who introduced the custom of singing psalms in churches.

Feodor and Peter, especially the latter, admitted indifferently into their councils and their armies those of the Greek, the Latin, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist communion, leaving every one at liberty to serve God after his own conscience, provided he did his duty to the state. At that time, there was not one Latin church in this great empire of two thousand leagues, till Peter established some new manufacto-

ries at Astrakhan, when there were about sixty Roman Catholic families, under the direction of the Capuchins; but the Jesuits, endeavoring to establish themselves in his dominions, he drove them out by an edict, published in April, 1718. He tolerated the Capuchins, as an insignificant set of monks, but considered the Jesuits as dangerous politicians.

The Greek Church has the honor and satisfaction of seeing its communion extended throughout an empire two thousand leagues in length, while that of Rome is not in possession of half that tract in Europe. Those of the Greek communion have, at all times, been particularly attentive to maintain an equality between theirs and the Latin Church; and always on their guard against the zeal of the see of Rome, which they look upon as ambition; because, in fact, that Church whose power is very much circumscribed in our hemisphere, and yet assumes the title of "universal," has always endeavored to act up to that title.

The Jews never made any settlements in Russia, as they have done in most of the other states of Europe, from Constantinople to Rome. The Russians have carried on their trade by themselves, or by the help of the nations settled among them. Theirs is the only country of the Greek communion where synagogues are not seen by the side of Christian temples.

CONCLUSION OF THE STATE OF RUSSIA, BEFORE PETER THE GREAT.

Russia is indebted solely to Czar Peter for its great influence in the affairs of Europe; being of

no consideration in any other reign, since it embraced Christianity. Before this period, the Russians made the same figure on the Black Sea that the Normans did afterward on the coasts of the ocean. In the reign of Emperor Heraclius, they fitted out an armament of forty thousand small barks, appeared before Constantinople, which they besieged, and imposed a tribute on the Greek emperors; but the grand knez Wolodimer, being wholly taken up with the care of establishing Christianity in his dominions, and wearied out with intestine broils in his own family, weakened his dominions by dividing them between his children. They almost all fell a prey to the Tartars, who held Russia in subjection nearly two hundred years. At length John Basilides freed it from slavery, and enlarged its boundaries; but after his time it was ruined again by civil wars.

Before the time of Peter the Great, Russia was neither so powerful, so well cultivated, so populous, nor so rich as at present. It had no possessions in Finland nor in Livonia; and this latter alone had been long worth more than all Siberia. The Cossacks were still unsubdued, nor were the people of Astrakhan reduced to obedience; what little trade was carried on was rather to their disadvantage. The White Sea, the Baltic, the Pontus Euxinus, the Sea of Azov, and the Caspian Sea, were entirely useless to a nation that had not a single ship, nor even a term in their language to express a fleet. If nothing more had been wanting but to be superior to the Tartars, and the other nations of the North, as far as China, the Russians undoubtedly had that

advantage, but they were to be brought on an equality with civilized nations, and to be in a condition one day of even surpassing several of them. Such an undertaking appeared altogether impracticable, inasmuch as they had not a single ship at sea, and were absolutely ignorant of military discipline on land; nay, the most common manufactures were hardly encouraged, and agriculture itself, the *primum mobile* of trade, was neglected. This requires the utmost attention and encouragement on the part of a government; and it is to this the English are indebted for finding in their corn a treasure far superior to their woollen manufacture.

This gross neglect of the necessary arts sufficiently shows that the people of Russia had no idea of the polite arts, which became necessary in their turn, when we have cultivated the others. They might, indeed, have sent some of the natives to gain instruction among foreigners, but the difference of languages, manners, and religion, opposed it. Besides, there was a law of state and religion equally sacred and pernicious, which prohibited any Russian from going out of his country, and thus seemed to devote this people to eternal ignorance. They had the most extensive dominions in the world, and yet everything was wanted among them. At length Peter was born, and Russia became a civilized state.

Happily, of all the great lawgivers who have lived in the world, Peter is the only one whose history is well known. Those of Theseus and Romulus, who did far less than he, and of the founders of all well-governed states, are blended with the most

absurd fictions; whereas, here we have the advantage of writing truths, which would pass for fictions, were they not so well attested.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANCESTORS OF PETER THE GREAT.

THE family of Peter the Great has been in possession of the throne ever since the year 1613. Before that time, Russia had undergone revolutions, which had retarded the reformation of her police, and the introduction of the liberal arts. This has been the fate of all human societies. No kingdom ever experienced more cruel troubles. In the year 1597, the tyrant Boris Godunoff assassinated Demetrius—or Demetri, as he was called—the lawful heir, and usurped the empire. A young monk took the name of Demetrius, pretending to be that prince escaped from his murderers, and with the assistance of the Poles, and a considerable party, he drove out the usurper, and seized the crown himself. The imposture was discovered as soon as he came to the sovereignty, because the people were not pleased with him; and he was murdered. Three other false Demetriuses started up one after another. Such a succession of impostors drives a country to the utmost distraction. The less men are civilized, the more easily they are imposed on. It may readily be conceived, how much these frauds augmented the public confusion and misfortunes. The Poles, who had begun the revolutions, by setting up the first

false Demetrius, were on the point of being masters of Russia. The Swedes shared in the spoils on the coast of Finland, and laid claim to the crown. The state seemed on the verge of utter destruction.

In the midst of these calamities, an assembly, composed of the principal boyars, chose for their sovereign a young man fifteen years of age: this happened in 1613, and did not seem a very likely method of putting an end to these troubles. This young man was Michael Romanoff, grandfather to Czar Peter, and son of the archbishop of Rostoff, surnamed Philaretes, and of a nun, and related by the mother's side to the ancient czars.

It must be observed that this archbishop was a powerful nobleman, whom the tyrant Boris had obliged to become priest. His wife, Scheremetow, was likewise compelled to take the veil; this was the ancient custom of the western tyrants of the Latin Church, as that of putting out the eyes was with the Greek Christians. The tyrant Demetrius made Philaretes archbishop of Rostoff, and sent him as ambassador to Poland, where he was detained prisoner by the Poles, who were then at war with the Russians; so little was the law of nations known to the different people at these times. During his father's confinement, that young Romanoff was elected czar. The archbishop was exchanged for some Polish prisoners; and on his return, his son created him patriarch, and the old man was in fact king under his son's name.

If such a government appears extraordinary to strangers, the marriage of Czar Michael Romanoff

will seem still more so. The Russian princes had never intermarried with foreign states since the year 1490, or after they became masters of Kazan and Astrakhan; they seem to have followed the Asiatic customs in almost everything, and especially that of marrying only among their own subjects.

This conformity to the ancient customs of Asia was still more conspicuous at the ceremonies observed at the marriage of a czar. A number of the most beautiful women in the province were brought to court, where they were received by the grand *gouvernante* of the court, who provided apartments for them in her own house, where they all ate together. The czar paid them visits, sometimes incognito, and sometimes in his real character. The wedding day was fixed, without its being declared on whom the choice had fallen. At the appointed time, the chosen one was presented with a rich wedding suit, and dresses were given to the other fair candidates, who then returned home. There have been four instances of these marriages.

In this manner was Michael Romanoff espoused to Eudocia, the daughter of a poor gentleman named Strefchneu. He was employed in ploughing in his grounds with his servants, when the lords of the bedchamber came to him with presents from the czar, and to acquaint him that his daughter was placed on the throne. The name of the princess is still held in the highest veneration by the Russians. This custom is greatly different from ours, but not less respectable on that account.

It is necessary to observe that, before Romanoff

was elected czar, a strong party had made choice of Prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund III., king of Poland. At the same time, the provinces bordering on Sweden had offered the crown to a brother of Gustavus Adolphus: so that Russia was then in the situation in which we have so frequently seen Poland, where the right of electing a king has been the cause of civil wars. But the Russians did not follow the example of the Poles, who entered into a compact with the prince whom they elected; notwithstanding that they had smarted from the oppression of tyrants, yet they voluntarily submitted to a young man, without making any conditions with him.

Russia never was an elective kingdom; but the male issue of the ancient sovereigns failing, and six czars, or pretenders, having perished miserably in the late troubles, there was, as we have observed, a necessity for electing a monarch; and this election caused fresh wars with Poland and Sweden, who maintained, with force of arms, their pretended rights to the crown of Russia. The right of governing a nation against its own will can never be long supported. The Poles, on their side, after having advanced as far as Moscow, and committed all the ravages of which the military expeditions of those times chiefly consisted, concluded a truce for fourteen years. By this truce, Poland remained in possession of the duchy of Smolensk, in which the Boristhenes has its source. The Swedes also made peace, in virtue of which they remained in possession of Ingria, and deprived the Russians of all communication with the Baltic Sea, so that this empire

was separated more than ever from the rest of Europe.

Michael Romanoff, after this peace, reigned quietly, without making any alteration in the state, either to the improvement or corruption of the administration. After his death, which happened in 1645, his son, Alexis Michaelovitch, ascended the throne by hereditary right. It may be observed, that the czars were crowned by the patriarch of Russia, according to the ceremonies in use at Constantinople, except that the patriarch of Russia was seated on the same platform with the sovereign, and constantly affected an equality highly insulting to the supreme power.

ALEXIS MICHAELOVITCH, THE SON OF MICHAEL.

Alexis was married in the same manner as his father, and from among the young women presented to him, he chose the one who appeared to him the most amiable. He married a daughter of the boyar, Meloslauski, in 1647; his second wife, whom he married in 1671, was of the family of Narishkina, and his favorite Morosow was married to another. There cannot be a more suitable title found for this favorite than that of vizier, for he governed the empire in a despotic manner, and, by his great power excited several commotions among the strelitzes and the populace, as frequently happens at Constantinople.

The reign of Alexis was disturbed by bloody insurrections, and by domestic and foreign wars. A chief of the Don Cossacks, named Stenka Razin, en-

deavored to make himself king of Astrakhan, and was for a long time very formidable; but being at length defeated and taken prisoner, he ended his life on the scaffold. About twelve thousand of his adherents are said to have been hanged on the high road to Astrakhan. In this part of the world, men, being uninfluenced by morality, were to be governed only by rigor; and from this arose slavery and a secret thirst of revenge.

Alexis had a war with the Poles, which proved successful and terminated in a peace that secured to him the possession of Smolensk, Kieff, and the Ukraine: but he was unfortunate against the Swedes, and the boundaries of the Russian Empire were contracted on that side of the kingdom.

The Turks were at that time his most formidable enemies: they invaded Poland, and threatened his dominions bordering on Crim Tartary, the ancient *Chersonesus Taurica.* In 1671, they took the city of Kaminiek, and all that belonged to Poland in the Ukraine. The Cossacks of that country, ever averse to subjection, knew not whether they belonged to the Turks, Poland, or Russia. Sultan Mahomet IV., who had conquered the Poles, and had just imposed a tribute on them demanded, with all the haughtiness of an Ottoman victor, that the czar should evacuate his possessions in the Ukraine, but received as haughty a denial from that prince. Men did not know at that time how to disguise their pride, under civility. The sultan, in his letter, styled the sovereign of the Russias only "Christian Hospodar," and entitled himself "most gracious majesty,

king of the universe." The czar replied that he scorned to submit to a Mahometan dog, and that his scimitar was as good as the grand seignior's sabre.

Alexis at that time formed a design which seemed to presage the influence that the Russian Empire would one day obtain in the Christian world. He sent ambassadors to the pope, and to almost all the great sovereigns in Europe, excepting France, which was in alliance with the Turks, in order to establish a league against the Ottoman Porte. His ambassadors at the court of Rome succeeded only in not being obliged to kiss the pope's toe, and in other courts they met only with unprofitable good wishes; the quarrels of the Christian princes between themselves, and the jarring interests arising from those quarrels, having constantly prevented them from uniting against the common enemy of Christianity.

In the meantime, the Turks threatened to chastise the Poles, who refused to pay their tribute: Czar Alexis assisted on the side of Crim Tartary, and John Sobieski, general of the crown, wiped off his country's stain, in the blood of the Turks, at the famous battle of Chotin, in 1674, which paved his way to the throne. Alexis disputed this throne with him, and proposed to unite his extensive dominions to Poland, as the Jagellons had done; but in regard to Lithuania, the greatness of his offer was the cause of its being rejected. He is said to have been very deserving of the new kingdom, by the manner in which he governed his own. He caused a set of laws to be correctly arranged in Russia, and introduced both linen and silk manufactures, which indeed were

not long kept up; nevertheless, he had the merit of their first establishment. He peopled the deserts about the Volga and the Kama, with Lithuanian, Polish, and Tartar families, whom he had taken prisoners in his wars: before his reign, all prisoners of war were the slaves of those to whose lot they fell. Alexis employed them in agriculture; he did his utmost to introduce discipline among his troops: in a word, he was worthy of being the father of Peter the Great; but he had no time to perfect what he had begun, being snatched away by a sudden death, at the age of forty-six, in the beginning of the year 1677, according to our style, which is eleven days ahead of that of Russia.

FEODOR, OR THEODORE ALEXIOVITCH.

On the death of Alexis, son of Michael, all fell again into confusion. He left by his first marriage, two princes, and six princesses. Feodor, the eldest, ascended the throne at fifteen years of age. He was of a weak and sickly constitution, but of superior merit. His father had caused him to be acknowledged his successor, a year before his death: a custom observed by the kings of France from Hugh Capet down to Louis the Young, and by many other crowned heads.

The second son of Alexis was Ivan or John, who was still worse treated by nature than his brother Feodor, being almost blind and dumb, very infirm, and frequently attacked with convulsions. Of six daughters, born of this first marriage, the only one who made any figure in Europe was Princess So-

phia, who was remarkable for her great talents; but unhappily still more so for the mischief she plotted against Peter the Great.

Alexis, by his second marriage with another of his subjects, daughter of the boyar Narishkina, had Peter, and the princess Nathalia. Peter was born May 30—June 10, new style—1672; and was but four years old when he lost his father. As the children of a second marriage were not much regarded in Russia, it was little expected that he would one day mount the throne.

It had ever been the purpose of the family of Romanoff to civilize the state. It was also the purpose of Feodor. We have already remarked, in speaking of Moscow, that this prince encouraged the inhabitants of that city to build a great number of stone houses. He also enlarged that capital, and made several useful regulations in the general police. But by attempting to reform the boyars, he made them his enemies: besides, he was not possessed of sufficient knowledge, vigor, or resolution, to venture on making a general reformation. The war with the Turks, or rather with the Crim Tartars, in which he was constantly engaged with varied success, would not permit a prince of his poor health to attempt so great a work. Feodor, like his predecessors, married one of his subjects, a native of the frontier of Poland; but having lost her in less than a year after their nuptials, he took for his second wife, in 1682, Martha Matweowna, daughter of the secretary Apraxin. Some months after this marriage, he was seized with the disorder which ended his days, and

died without leaving any children. As the czars married without regard to birth, they might likewise appoint a successor without respect to primogeniture. The dignity of consort and heir to the sovereign seemed to be the reward of merit; and in that respect, the custom of this empire was preferable to the custom of more civilized states.

Feodor, before he expired, seeing that his brother Ivan was by his natural infirmities incapable of governing, nominated his younger brother Peter, heir to the empire of Russia. Peter, who was then only in his tenth year, had already given the most promising hopes.

If, on the one hand, the custom of raising a subject to the rank of czarina was favorable to the women, there was another which was not less hard on them; namely, that the daughters of the czars were very seldom married, but were obliged to pass their lives in a monastery.

Princess Sophia, third daughter of Czar Alexis, by his first marriage, was possessed of abilities equally great and dangerous. Perceiving that her brother Feodor had not long to live, she did not retire to a convent; but finding herself situated between two brothers, one of whom was incapable of governing through his natural inability, and the other on account of his youth, she conceived the design of placing herself at the head of the empire. Hence, in the last hours of Czar Feodor, she attempted to act the part that Pulcheria had formerly played with her brother, the emperor Theodosius.

CHAPTER IV.

JOHN AND PETER—HORRIBLE SEDITION AMONG THE STRELITZES.

CZAR FEODOR'S eyes were scarcely closed, in 1682, when the nomination of a prince of only ten years old to the throne, the exclusion of the elder brother, and the intrigues of the princess Sophia, their sister, excited a most bloody revolt among the strelitzes. Never did the janissaries, nor the prætorian guards, exercise more horrible barbarities. The insurrection began two days after the interment of Feodor, when they all ran to arms in the Kremlin, which is the imperial palace at Moscow. There they began by accusing nine of their colonels of keeping back part of their pay. The ministry was obliged to dismiss the colonels, and to pay the strelitzes the money they demanded; but this did not satisfy them; they insisted on having these nine officers delivered up to them, and condemned them by a majority of votes, to suffer the *battogs* or *knout;* the manner of which punishment is as follows:

The delinquent is stripped naked, and laid flat on his belly, while two executioners beat him over the back with switches or small canes, till the judge, who stands by to see the sentence put into execution, says, "It is enough." The colonels, after being thus treated by their men, were obliged to return them thanks, according to the custom of the Eastern nations; where criminals, after undergoing their punishment, must kiss the judge's hand. Besides complying with this custom, the officers gave them a sum

of money, which was something more than the custom.

While the strelitzes thus began to make themselves formidable, Princess Sophia, who secretly encouraged them, in order to lead them by degrees from crime to crime, held a meeting at her house, consisting of the princesses of the blood, the generals of the army, the boyars, the patriarch, the bishops, and even some of the principal merchants; where she represented to them, that Prince John, by right of birth and merit, was entitled to the empire, the reins of which she intended to keep in her own hands. At the breaking up of the assembly, she caused a promise to be made to the strelitzes, of an augmentation of pay, besides considerable presents. Her emissaries were in particular employed to stir up the soldiery against the Narishkina family, especially the two brothers of the young dowager czarina, the mother of Peter the First. These persuaded the strelitzes that one of the brothers, named John, had put on the imperial robes, had seated himself on the throne, and had attempted to strangle Prince John; adding, moreover, that the late czar Feodor had been poisoned by a villain named Daniel Vongad, a Dutch physician. At last Sophia put into their hands a list of forty noblemen, whom she styled enemies to their corps and to the state, and as such worthy of death. These proceedings exactly resembled the proscriptions of Sulla, and the Roman triumvirate, which had been revived by Christian II. in Denmark and Sweden. This may serve to show, that such cruelties prevail in all

countries in times of anarchy and confusion. The mutineers began the tragedy with throwing the two princes, Dolgorouki and Matheof, out of the palace windows. The strelitzes received them on the points of their spears, then stripped them, and dragged their dead bodies into the great square; after this they rushed into the palace, where, meeting with Athanasius Narishkina, a brother of the young czarina, and one of the uncles of Czar Peter, they murdered him; then breaking open the door of a neighboring church, where three of the proscribed persons had taken refuge, they dragged them from the altar, stripped them naked, and stabbed them.

They were so blinded with their fury, that, seeing a young nobleman of the family of Soltikoff, a great favorite of theirs, and who was not included in the list of the proscribed, and some of them mistaking him for John Narishkina, whom they were in search of, they murdered him on the spot; and what plainly shows the manners of those times, after having discovered their error, they carried the body of young Soltikoff to his father to bury it; and the wretched parent, far from daring to complain, gave them a considerable reward for bringing him the mangled body of his son. Being reproached by his wife, his daughters, and the widow of the deceased, for his weakness: "Let us wait for an opportunity of being revenged," said the old man. These words being overheard by some of the soldiers, they returned, dragged the aged parent by the hair, and cut his throat at his own door.

Another party of the strelitzes, who were scour-

ing the city in search of the Dutch physician, Vongad, met with his son, of whom they inquired for his father; the youth trembling, replied, that he did not know where he was, upon which they immediately despatched him. Soon after a German physician falling in their way, "You are a doctor," said they, "and if you did not poison our master, Feodor, you have poisoned others, and therefore merit death," and thereupon killed him.

At length they found the Dutchman, of whom they were in quest, disguised in the garb of a beggar; they instantly dragged him before the palace; the princesses, who loved this worthy man and placed great confidence in his skill, begged the strelitzes to spare him, assuring them that he was a very good physician, and had taken all possible care of their brother Feodor. The strelitzes made answer that he not only deserved to die as a physician, but also as a sorcerer; and that they had found in his house, a great dried toad, and the skin of a serpent. They furthermore required to have young Narishkina delivered up to them, whom they had searched for in vain for two days; alleging, that he was certainly in the palace, and that they would set fire to it, unless he was put into their hands. The sister of John Narishkina, and the other princesses, terrified by their threats, went to acquaint their unhappy brother in the place of his concealment, with what had passed; upon which the patriarch heard his confession, administered the viaticum and extreme unction to him, and then taking an image of the blessed

virgin, which was said to perform miracles, he led the young man forth, and presented him to the strelitzes, showing them, at the same time, the image of the virgin. The princesses, who in tears surrounded Narishkina, falling upon their knees before the soldiers, besought them, in the name of the blessed virgin, to spare their relative's life; but the inhuman wretches tore him from their arms, and dragged him to the foot of the stairs, together with the physician Vongad, where they held a kind of tribunal among themselves, and condemned them both to be put to the torture. One of the soldiers, who could write, drew up a form of accusation, and sentenced the two unfortunate princes to be cut to pieces; a punishment inflicted in China and Tartary on parricides, and called the punishment of ten thousand slices. After having thus treated Narishkina and Vongad, they exposed their heads, feet, and hands, on the iron points of a balustrade.

While this party of the strelitzes were thus glutting their fury in the sight of the princesses, the others massacred everyone who was obnoxious to them, or suspected by Princess Sophia.

This horrid tragedy concluded with proclaiming the two princes, John and Peter, in June, 1682, joint sovereigns, and associating their sister Sophia with them, in the quality of co-regent, who then publicly approved of all their outrages, gave them rewards, confiscated the estates of the proscribed, and bestowed them on their murderers. She even permitted them to erect a monument, with the names

of the persons they had murdered, as being traitors to their country: and to crown all, she published letters patent, thanking them for their zeal and fidelity.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRINCESS SOPHIA—EXTRAORDINARY QUARREL ABOUT RELIGION—A CONSPIRACY.

SUCH were the steps by which Princess Sophia ascended the throne of Russia, though without being declared czarina; and such the examples that Peter the First had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honors of a sovereign; her bust was on the public coin; she signed all despatches, held the first place in council, and enjoyed unlimited power. She was possessed of good understanding, and some wit; made verses in the Russian language, and both spoke and wrote extremely well. These talents were set off by an agreeable person, and sullied only by her ambition.

She procured a wife for her brother John, in the usual manner. A young lady, named Soltikoff, of the family of the noblemen who had been assassinated by the seditious strelitzes, was sent for from the heart of Siberia, where her father commanded a fortress, to be presented to Czar John at Moscow. Her beauty triumphed over all the intrigues of her rivals, and John was married to her in 1684. At every marriage of a czar, we seem to read the his-

tory of Ahasuerus, or that of Theodosius the Younger.

In the midst of the rejoicings on account of this marriage, the strelitzes raised a new insurrection, on account of religion of a particular tenet. Had they been mere soldiers, they would never have become controversialists, but they were also citizens of Moscow. Whosoever has or assumes a right of speaking in an authoritative manner to the populace may found a sect. This has been seen in all ages, and all parts of the world, especially since the passion of dogmatizing has become the instrument of ambition, and the terror of weak minds.

Russia had experienced some previous disturbances on account of a dispute, as to whether the sign of a cross was to be made with three fingers, or with two. One Abakum, who was a priest, had set up some new tenets at Moscow, in regard to the holy spirit; which, according to the Scriptures, enlightened all the faithful; as likewise with respect to the equality of the primitive Christians, and these words of Christ, "There shall be amongst you neither first nor last." Several citizens, and many of the strelitzes, embraced the opinions of Abakum. One Raspop was the chief of this party, which became quite strong. The sectaries at length—July 16, 1682, new style—entered the cathedral, where the patriarch and his clergy were officiating, drove them out of the church with stones, and seated themselves devoutly in their places, to receive the holy spirit. They called the patriarch the "ravenous wolf in the sheepfold"; a title which all sects have liberally bestowed

on one another. Princess Sophia and the two czars were immediately made acquainted with these disturbances; and the other strelitzes, who were staunch to the good old cause, were given to understand that the czars and the Church were in danger. Upon this the strelitzes and burghers of the patriarchal party attacked the Abakumists; but a stop was put to the carnage, by publishing a convocation of a council, which was immediately assembled in a hall of the palace. This took up very little time, for they obliged every priest they met to attend. The patriarch and a bishop disputed against Raspop; but at the second syllogism they began to throw stones at one another. The council ended with ordering Raspop, and some of his faithful disciples, to have their heads struck off; and the sentence was executed by the order of the three sovereigns, Sophia, John, and Peter.

During these troubles, there was a *knes,* named Chowanskoi, who having been instrumental in raising Princess Sophia to the dignity she then held, wanted, as a reward for his services, to have a share in the administration.

It may be supposed, that he found Sophia not so grateful as he could wish; upon which he espoused the cause of religion and the persecuted Raspopians, and stirred up a party among the strelitzes and the people, in defence of God's name.

This conspiracy proved a more serious affair than the enthusiastic riot of Raspop. An ambitious hypocrite always carries things farther than a simple fanatic. Chowanskoi aimed at no less than the im-

perial dignity; and to rid himself of all cause of fear, he resolved to murder the two czars, Sophia, the other princesses, and everyone attached to the imperial family. The czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, within twelve leagues of St. Petersburg. This was, at the same time, a convent, a palace, and a fortress, like Monte Cassino, Corby, Fulda, Kempten, and several others belonging to the Latin Church. This monastery of the Trinity belongs to the monks of St. Basil. It is surrounded by deep ditches, and rampart of brick, on which is planted artillery. The monks are possessed of all the country round for four leagues. The imperial family were in safety there, but more on account of the strength than the sanctity of the place. Here Sophia treated with the rebel *knes;* and having decoyed him half-way, caused his head to be struck off, together with those of one of his sons, and thirty-seven strelitzes who accompanied him.

The strelitzes, on this news, rushed to arms, and marched to attack the convent of Trinity, threatening to destroy everything that came in their way. The imperial family stood upon their defence; the boyars armed their vassals, all the gentlemen flocked in, and a bloody civil war seemed on the point of beginning. The patriarch somewhat pacified the strelitzes, who began to be intimidated with the number of troops that were marching toward them on all sides; in short, their fury was changed into fear, and their fear into the most abject submission; a change common to the multitude. Three thousand seven hun-

dred of this corps, followed by their wives and children, with ropes tied about their necks, went in procession to the convent of the Trinity, which three days before they had threatened to burn to the ground. In this condition, these unhappy wretches presented themselves before the gate of the convent, two by two, one carrying a block, and another an ax; and prostrating themselves on the ground, waited for their sentence. They were pardoned upon their submission, and returned to Moscow, blessing their sovereigns; and still disposed, though unknown to themselves, to commit the same crime at the very first opportunity.

These commotions having subsided, the state resumed a seeming tranquillity; but Sophia still possessed the chief authority, leaving John to his incapacity, and keeping Peter as a ward. In order to strengthen her power, she shared it with Prince Basil Golitzin, whom she created generalissimo, minister of state, and lord keeper. Golitzin was in every respect superior to any person in that distracted court: he was polite, magnificent, full of great designs, more learned than any of his countrymen, having received a much better education, and was even master of the Latin tongue, which was, at that time, almost entirely unknown in Russia. He was of an active and indefatigable spirit, had a genius superior to the times he lived in, and capable, had he had leisure and power, as he had inclination, to have changed the face of things in Russia. This is the eulogium given of him by La Neuville, at that time the Polish envoy in Russia; and

the encomiums of foreigners are seldom to be suspected.

This minister bridled the insolence of the strelitzes by distributing the most mutinous of that body among the several regiments in the Ukraine, in Kazan, and Siberia. It was under his administration that the Poles, long the rivals of Russia, gave up, in 1686, all pretensions to the large provinces of Smolensk and the Ukraine. He was the first who sent an embassy to France, in 1687; a country, which had for more than twenty years been in the zenith of its glory, as a result of the conquests, new establishments, and the magnificence of Louis XIV., and especially of the arts. France had not then entered into any correspondence with Russia, or rather was unacquainted with that empire; and the Academy of Inscriptions ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate this embassy, as if it had come from the most distant part of the Indies; but notwithstanding all this, the ambassador, Dolgorouki, failed in his negotiation, and even suffered some gross affronts on account of the behavior of his domestics, whose mistakes it would have been better to have overlooked; but the court of Louis XIV. could not then foresee that France and Russia would one day count among the number of their advantages, that of being cemented by the closest union.

Russia was now quiet at home, but she was still pent up on the side of Sweden, though enlarged toward Poland, her new ally, was in continual alarm on the side of Crim Tartary, and at variance with China in regard to the frontiers.

The most intolerable circumstance for their empire, and which plainly showed that it had not yet attained to a vigorous and stable administration was, that the khan of the Crim Tartars exacted an annual tribute of 6,000 rubles.

Crim Tartary is the ancient Taurica Chersonesus, formerly so famous by the commerce of the Greeks, and still more by their fables, a fruitful but barbarous country. It took its name of Crimea or Crim, from the title of its first khans, who took this name before the conquests of the sons of Genghis Khan. To free his country from this yoke, and wipe out the disgrace of such a tribute, the prime minister, Golitzin, marched in person into Crim Tartary, at the head of a large army. These armies were not to be compared to the present troops; they had no discipline; there was hardly one regiment completely armed; they had no uniform clothing, no regularity; their men indeed were inured to hard labor and scarcity of provisions, but they carried with them baggage that far exceeded anything of the kind in our camps, where luxury prevails. Their vast numbers of wagons for carrying ammunition and provisions, in an uninhabitable and desert country, greatly retarded the expedition against Crim Tartary. The army found itself in the midst of the vast deserts, on the river Samara, unprovided with magazines. Here Golitzin did what, in my opinion, was never done anywhere else; he employed 30,000 men in building a town on the banks of the Samara, to serve as a place for magazines in the ensuing campaign: it was begun in one year, and finished in the third

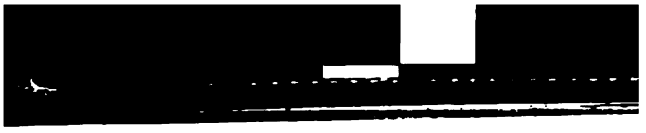
month of the following; the houses indeed were all of wood except two, which were brick; the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery; and the whole place was in a fair state of defence.

This was all that was done of any consequence in this ruinous expedition. In the meantime, Sophia continued to govern in Moscow, while John had only the name of czar; and Peter, now seventeen years of age, had already the courage to aim at real sovereignty. La Neuville, the Polish envoy, then resident at Moscow, who was an eye-witness of all that passed, pretends that Sophia and Golitzin had engaged the new chief of the strelitzes to sacrifice to them their young czar: it appears, at least, that six hundred of these strelitzes were to have made themselves masters of his person. The private memoirs which have been intrusted to my perusal, by the court of Russia, affirm that a scheme had actually been laid to murder Peter the First: the blow was on the point of being struck. The czar was once more obliged to take refuge in the convent of the Trinity, the usual asylum of the court when threatened by the soldiers. There he assembled the boyars of his party, raised a body of forces, treated with the captains of the strelitzes, and called in the assistance of certain Germans, who had been long settled in Moscow, and were attached to his person, from his having already shown himself the encourager of strangers. Sophia and John, who continued at Moscow, used every means to engage the strelitzes to remain firm to their interests; but the cause of young Peter, who loudly complained of an

attempt meditated against himself and his mother, prevailed over that of the princess, and of a czar, whose very aspect alienated all hearts. All the accomplices were punished with a severity to which that country was as much accustomed as to the crimes which occasioned it. Some were beheaded, after undergoing the punishment of the knout or *battogs*. The chief of the strelitzes was put to death in the same manner, and several suspected persons had their tongues cut out. Prince Golitzin escaped with his life, through the intercession of one of his relatives, who was a favorite of Czar Peter; but he was stripped of his riches, which were immense, and banished to a place in the neighborhood of Archangel. La Neuville, who was present, relates that the sentence pronounced on Golitzin, was in these terms. "Thou art commanded, by the most clement czar, to repair to Karga, a town under the pole, and there to continue the remainder of thy days. His majesty, out of his extreme goodness, allows thee three pence per day for thy subsistence."

There is no town under the pole. Karga is in the 62d degree of latitude, and only six degrees and a half farther north than Moscow. Whoever pronounced this sentence, must have been a bad geographer. La Neuville was probably imposed on by a false account.

At length, in 1689, Princess Sophia was once more sent back to her monastery at Moscow, after having so long held the reins of government; and this revolution proved, to a woman of her disposition, a sufficient punishment.



PETER THE GREAT

From this instant Peter began to reign in reality, his brother John having no other share in the government than that of signing his name to all public acts. He led a retired life, and died in 1646.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF PETER THE FIRST—BEGINNING OF THE GRAND REFORMATION.

PETER THE GREAT was tall, genteel, well-made, with a noble aspect, piercing eyes, and a robust constitution, fitted for all kinds of hardship and bodily exercise. He had a sound understanding, which is the basis of all real abilities; and to this was joined an active disposition, which prompted him to undertake and execute the greatest things. His education was far from being worthy of his genius. Princess Sophia was, in a peculiar manner, interested in letting him remain in ignorance, and indulge himself in those excesses which youth, idleness, custom, and the high rank he held, made but too attractive. Nevertheless, he had, in June, 1689, been married, like his predecessors, to one of his own subjects, the daughter of Colonel Lapuchin; but as he was young, and for some time enjoyed none of the prerogatives of the crown, but that of indulging his pleasures without restraint, the ties of wedlock were not always sufficient to keep him within bounds. The pleasures of the table, in which he indulged himself rather too freely, with foreigners who had

been invited to Moscow by Prince Golitzin, seemed not to presage that he would one day become the reformer of his country; however, in spite of bad examples, and even the allurements of pleasures, he applied himself to the arts of war and government, and showed that he had the seeds of greatness in him.

It was still less expected, that a prince who was subject to such a constitutional dread of water as to subject him to cold sweats, and even convulsions, when he was obliged to cross a small river or a brook, should become one of the best seamen in all the North. In order to get the better of nature, he began by jumping into the water, notwithstanding the horror he felt at it, till at length this aversion was changed into a fondness for that element.

He often blushed at the ignorance in which he had been brought up. He learned, without the help of a master, enough of German and Dutch to be able to write and converse in both those languages. The Germans and Dutch appeared to him as the most civilized nations, because the former had already established in Moscow, some of those arts and manufactures which he was desirous of seeing established in his empire, and the latter excelled in the art of navigation, which he already began to look upon as the most necessary of all others.

Such were the dispositions which Peter cherished, notwithstanding the follies of his youth. At the same time, he found himself disturbed by factions at home, had the turbulent spirit of the strelitzes to keep under, and an almost uninterrupted

war to manage against the Crim Tartars, for, though hostilities had been suspended in 1689 by a truce, it had no long continuance.

During this interval, Peter became confirmed in his design of introducing the arts into his country.

His father had, in his lifetime, entertained the same designs, but he lacked leisure, and a favorable opportunity to carry them into execution; he transmitted his genius to his son, who was more clear-sighted, more vigorous, and more unshaken by difficulties and obstacles.

Alexis had been at great expense in sending for Bothler, a ship-builder and sea captain from Holland, together with a number of shipwrights and sailors. These built a large frigate and a yacht on the Volga, which they navigated down that river to Astrakhan, where they were to be employed in building more vessels, for carrying on an advantageous trade with Persia by the Caspian Sea. Just at this time the revolt of Stenka Razin broke out, and this rebel destroyed these two vessels, and murdered the captain; the crew fled into Persia, whence they got to some settlements belonging to the Dutch East India company. A master-builder, who was a good shipwright, stayed behind in Russia, where he lived a long time in obscurity.

One day Peter, taking a walk at Ishmaelof, a summer palace built by his grandfathers, perceived, among several other rarities, an old English shallop, which had lain entirely neglected; upon which he asked Zimmerman, a German and his mathematical teacher, how came that little boat to be so different

from any he had seen on the Moska? Zimmerman replied that it was made to go with sails and oars. The young prince wanted instantly to make a trial of it; but it first had to be repaired and rigged. Brant, the ship-builder who had remained in Russia, was by accident found at Moscow, where he lived retired; he soon put the boat in order and worked her on the river Yauza, which flows through the suburbs of the town.

Peter caused his boat to be removed to a great lake in the neighborhood of the convent of the Trinity; he made Brant build two more frigates and three yachts, and piloted them himself. Later, in 1694, he made a journey to Archangel, and having ordered a small vessel to be built in that port by the same Brant, he embarked therein on the Arctic Sea, which no other sovereign had ever beheld. On this occasion he was escorted by a Dutch man-of-war, under the command of Captain Jolson, and attended by all the merchant vessels then in the port of Archangel. He had already learned the manner of working a ship; and, notwithstanding the pains his courtiers took to imitate their master, he was the only one who was proficient in it.

He found it as difficult to raise a well-disciplined body of land forces on whom he could depend as to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation on a lake, previous to his journey to Archangel, was regarded only as the amusement of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops appeared as nothing more than a diversion. This happened during the regency of

Princess Sophia; and had he been suspected of meaning anything serious by this amusement, it might have been attended with fatal consequences.

He placed his confidence in a foreigner, the celebrated Lefort, of a noble and ancient family in Piedmont, transplanted nearly two centuries ago to Geneva, where they have filled the most considerable posts in the state. It was intended that he should be brought up to trade, to which that town is indebted for the figure it now makes, having formerly been known only as the seat of religious controversies.

But his genius, which prompted him to the greatest undertakings, led him to quit his father's house at the age of fourteen; and he served four months as a cadet in the citadel of Marseilles; thence he went to Holland, where he served some time as a volunteer, and was wounded at the siege of Grave, a strongly fortified town on the Meuse, which the prince of Orange, afterward king of England, retook from Louis XIV. in 1694. After this, led by hope of preferment, he embarked with a German colonel named Verstin, who had obtained a commission from Peter's father, to raise soldiers in the Netherlands and bring them to Archangel. But when he arrived at that port, after a most fatiguing and dangerous cruise, Alexis was no more; the government was changed and Russia was in confusion. The governor of Archangel suffered Verstin, Lefort, and his whole troop to remain a long time in the utmost poverty and distress, and even threatened to send them to Siberia; on which every man shifted for himself. Lefort, in want of everything, repaired

to Moscow, where he interviewed the Danish resident, named de Horn, who made him his secretary; there he learned the Russian language, and some time afterward was introduced to Czar Peter; the elder brother Ivan, not being a person for his purpose. Peter fancied him and immediately gave him a company of foot. Lefort had seen but little service; he knew but little of letters, not having studied any particular art or science; but he had seen a great deal, and had a talent of making the most of what he saw. Like the czar, he owed everything to his own genius; he understood the German and Dutch languages, which Peter was learning, as those of two nations that might be of service in his designs. Everything conspired to make him agreeable to Peter, to whom he strictly attached himself. From being the companion of his pleasures, he became his favorite, and confirmed himself in that station by his abilities. The czar made him his confidant in the most dangerous design that a prince of that country could possibly form, namely, that of putting himself in a condition to be able one day to overcome the seditious and barbarous body of forces called the strelitzes. The great sultan, or pasha, Osman, lost his life in attempting to disband the janissaries. Peter, young as he was, went to work in a much abler manner than Osman.

He began with forming, at his country seat at Preobrazinski, a company of fifty of his youngest domestics; and some young gentlemen, the sons of boyars, were chosen for their officers; but in order to teach these young noblemen subordination, to

which they were wholly unaccustomed, he made them pass through all the different military degrees, and himself set them the example, by serving first as a drummer, then as a private soldier, a sergeant, and a lieutenant of the company. Nothing was ever more extraordinary, nor more useful than this conduct. The Russians had hitherto made war in the same manner as our ancestors at the time of the feudal tenures, when the inexperienced nobles took the field at the head of their vassals, undisciplined, and ill armed; a barbarous method, sufficient indeed against like armies, but of no use against regular troops.

This company, which was formed wholly by Peter himself, soon increased in numbers and became afterward the regiment of Preobrazinski guards. Another regiment, formed on the same plan, became in time the regiment of Semeniousky guards.

The czar had already a regiment of five thousand men that could be depended on, trained by General Gordon, a Scotchman, and composed almost entirely of foreigners. Lefort, who had borne arms but a short time, but whose capacity was equal to everything, raised a regiment of twelve thousand men; five colonels were appointed to serve under him, and he suddenly saw himself general of this little army, which had been raised as much to oppose the strelitzes, as the enemies of the state.

One thing worthy of notice, and which fully confutes the hasty error of those who pretend that France lost very few of its inhabitants by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, is that one-third of his

army, which was only called a regiment, consisted of French refugees. Lefort disciplined his new troops as if he had been all his lifetime a soldier.

Peter was desirous of seeing one of those images of war, the mock fights which had been lately introduced in times of peace; a fort was erected, which was to be attacked by one part of his new troops, and defended by the other. The difference between this fight and others of the like nature was, that instead of a sham engagement, there was a real one, in which some of his men were slain and a great many wounded. Lefort, who commanded the attack, received a wound. These bloody sports were intended to initiate the young troops into the service of the field; but it required much labor and some suffering to compass this end.

These warlike amusements did not distract the czar's attention from his naval project. As he had made Lefort a general by land, notwithstanding his having never borne a command; he now made him admiral, though he had never had the direction of a ship, but he knew him deserving of both. It is true that he was an admiral without a fleet, and a general with only his regiment for an army.

By degrees the czar reformed that great abuse in the army, the independence of the boyars, who, in time of war, used to bring into the field a multitude of their vassals and peasants; this was exactly the ancient government of the Franks, Huns, Goths, and Vandals, who indeed subdued the Roman Empire in its state of decline, but would have been totally destroyed had they had the warlike, disciplined

legions of ancient Rome to encounter, or such armies as are now brought into the field.

Admiral Lefort was not long, however, before he had something more than an empty title. He employed some Dutchmen and Venetians in building a number of barcolongos, or long barks, and also two ships of about thirty guns each, at the mouth of the Voronezh, which falls into the Tanais, or Don; these vessels were to go down the river and keep in awe the Crim Tartars, with whom hostilities had been renewed.

The czar was now to determine—in 1689—against which of the following powers he would declare war—the Turks, the Swedes, or the Chinese. But here it will be proper to premise on what terms he then stood with China, and which was the first treaty of peace concluded by that nation.

CHAPTER VII.

CONGRESS AND TREATY WITH THE CHINESE.

WE MUST set out by forming a proper idea of the limits of the Chinese and Russian empires at this period. When we leave Siberia, properly so called, and also far behind us to the south, a hundred hordes of Tartars, with white and black Kalmucks, and Mahometan and Pagan Moguls, we come to the 130th degree of longitude and the 52d of latitude, on the river Amur. To the northward is a great chain of mountains that stretches as far as the Arctic

Sea, beyond the polar circle. This river, which runs for over five hundred leagues through Siberia and Chinese Tartary, falls, after many windings, into the Sea of Kamchatka. It is said that at its mouth there is sometimes caught a monstrous fish, much larger than the hippopotamus of the Nile, and that the tooth thereof is the finest ivory. It is furthermore said that this ivory was formerly an object of trade; that they used to convey it through Siberia, which is the reason why pieces of it are still found under ground in that country. This is the most probable account of that fossil ivory, of which we have elsewhere spoken; for it appears highly chimerical to claim that there were formerly elephants in Siberia.

This Amur is called the Black River by the Manchu Tartars, and the Dragon River by the Chinese.

It was in these countries, so long unknown, that the Russians and Chinese contested the limits of their empires. The Russians had some forts on the River Amur, about three hundred leagues from the great walls. Many hostilities had arisen between these two nations on account of these forts; at length both began to understand their interests better; the emperor Camhi preferred peace and commerce to an unprofitable war and sent several ambassadors to Niptchqu, one of those settlements. The ambassadors had ten thousand men in their retinue, including their escort. This was Asiatic pomp; but what is remarkable is that there was not an example in the annals of the empire of an embassy being sent to another potentate; and what is

still more singular, the Chinese had never concluded a treaty of peace since the foundation of their monarchy. Though twice conquered by the Tartars, who attacked and subjected them, they never made war on any people, excepting a few hordes that were quickly subdued, or as quickly left to themselves without any treaty. So that this nation, so renowned for morality, knew nothing of what we call the "Law of Nations"; that is to say, of those vague rules of war and peace, of the privileges of foreign ministers, of the formalities of treaties, nor of the obligations resulting therefrom, nor of the disputes concerning precedence and points of honor.

But in what language were the Chinese to negotiate with the Russians in the midst of deserts? This difficulty was removed by two Jesuits, the one a Portuguese named Pereira, the other a Frenchman, whose name was Gerbillon; they set out from Pekin with the Chinese ambassadors, and were themselves the real negotiators. They conferred in Latin with a German belonging to the Russian embassy, who understood this language. The chief of that embassy was Golovin, governor of Siberia, who displayed a greater magnificence than the Chinese themselves, and thereby gave a high idea of the Russian Empire to a people who thought themselves the only powerful nation under the sun.

The two Jesuits settled the limits of both empires at the river Kerbechi, near the spot where the treaty was concluded. All the country south of this line of partition was adjudged to the Chinese, and the north to the Russians, who lost only a small fort which

was found to have been built beyond the limits; a peace was agreed to, and after some few altercations both parties swore to observe it, in the name of the same God, and in these terms: "If any of us shall entertain the least thought of kindling anew the flames of war, we beseech the supreme Lord of all things, and who knows all hearts, to punish the traitor with sudden death."

From this form of treaty, used alike by Chinese and Christians, we may infer two important truths: first, that the Chinese government is neither atheistical nor idolatrous, as has been so frequently and falsely charged by contradictory imputations; second, that all nations cultivating the gift of reason and understanding, do, in effect, acknowledge the same God, notwithstanding the particular deviations of that reason, through the want of being properly instructed.

The treaty was drawn up in Latin and two copies were made of it. The Russian ambassadors set their names first to the copy that remained in their possession, and the Chinese also signed theirs the first, agreeably to the custom observed by European nations, when two equal powers conclude a treaty with each other. On this occasion was observed another custom belonging to the Asiatic nations, and which was, indeed, that of the earliest ages. The treaty was engraved on two large marble pillars, erected on the spot, to determine the boundaries of the two empires.

Three years after this the czar sent Isbrand Ides, a Dane, as ambassador to China; and the commerce

he then established between the two nations continued with mutual advantage till the rupture between them in the year 1722; but since this short interruption it has been revived with redoubled vigor.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITION TO THE SEA OF AZOV—CONQUEST OF AZOV—THE CZAR SENDS YOUNG GENTLEMEN INTO FOREIGN COUNTRIES FOR IMPROVEMENT.

IT WAS not so easy to have peace with the Turks, and indeed the time seemed propitious for the Russians to profit by their discomfiture. Venice, that had long groaned under their yoke, began now to rouse itself. The doge Morosini, who had surrendered Candia to the Turks, afterward took from them the Peloponnesus, which conquest got him the title of "Peloponnesian," an honor which revived the memory of the Roman Republic. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had proved successful against the Ottoman power in Hungary; and the Poles undertook to check the incursions of the Crim Tartars.

Peter took advantage of these circumstances to discipline his troops, and to secure the empire of the Black Sea. In 1694 General Gordon marched along the Tanais toward Azov with his regiment of five thousand men, followed by General Lefort with his regiment of twelve thousand; by a body of strelitzes, under the command of Scheremetoff and Schein, natives of Prussia; by a body of Cossacks,

and by a large train of artillery; in a word, everything was ready for this expedition.

This army began its march under the command of Marshal Scheremetoff in the beginning of the summer of 1695, to attack the town of Azov, at the mouth of the Don, and at the extremity of the Sea of Azov. The czar was with the army, but only as a volunteer, being determined to learn before he undertook to command. During their march they stormed two forts which the Turks had built on the banks of the river.

This expedition was attended with some difficulties. The place was well fortified and defended by a strong garrison. A number of barcolongos, resembling the Turkish saics, and built by Venetians, with two small Dutch ships of war that were to sail out of the Voronezh, could not be got ready soon enough to enter the Sea of Azov. All beginnings meet with obstacles. The Russians had never yet made a regular siege; and the first attempt did not meet with all the success that could be desired.

One Jacob, a native of Dantzic, had the direction of the artillery under the command of General Schein; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and none but foreign engineers and pilots. This Jacob had been condemned to the *bastinade,* or *knout,* by Schein, the Russian general. At that time rigorous discipline was thought to be the only method of strengthening command; and the Russians quietly submitted to it, notwithstanding their natural bent to sedition; and after the punishment did their duty as usual. But

the Dane thought in a different manner, and resolved to be revenged for the treatment he had received, and thereupon spiked the cannon, deserted to the Turks, turned Mahometan, and defended Azov with great success against his former masters. This shows that the lenity which is now practised in Russia is preferable to the former severities; and is better calculated to retain those in their duty, who, by a good education, have a proper sense of honor. It was absolutely necessary, at that time, to use the utmost rigor toward the common people; but since their manners have been changed, the empress Elizabeth has completed, by clemency, the work her father began by the authority of the laws. This lenity has even been carried by this princess to a degree unexampled in the history of any nation. She has promised that, during her reign, no person shall be punished with death, and she has kept her word. She is the first sovereign who ever showed so much regard for the lives of men. By an institution equally prudent and humane, malefactors are now condemned to serve in the mines and other public works; by which means their very punishments prove of service to the state. In other countries they know only how to put a criminal to death, with all the apparatus of execution, without being able to prevent the perpetration of crimes. The apprehension of death makes, perhaps, less impression on those miscreants, who are for the most part bred up in idleness, than the fear of punishment and hard labor renewed every day.

To return to the siege of Azov, which place was

now defended by the same person who had before directed the attacks against it; the Russians in vain attempted to take it by storm; and after losing a great number of men, were obliged to raise the siege.

Perseverance in his undertakings was the distinguishing character of Peter the Great. In the spring of 1696 he brought a still larger army before Azov. About this time his brother died, who, though he had not while living been the least curb to Peter's authority, having enjoyed only the bare title of czar, yet had been some restraint upon him in regard to appearances. The money which had been appropriated to the support of John's dignity and household were now applied to the maintenance of the army. This proved no small help to a government whose revenues were not nearly so great as they are at present. Peter wrote to Emperor Leopold, to the states-general, and to the elector of Brandenburg, to obtain engineers, gunners, and seamen. He also took some Kalmucks into his pay, whose light horse were very useful against the Crim Tartars.

The most agreeable of the czar's successes was that of his little fleet, which was at length completed and well commanded. It defeated the Turkish saics sent from Constantinople, and took some of them. The siege was carried on regularly from trenches, but not altogether in our method, the trenches being three times deeper than ours, with parapets as high as ramparts. On July 28, 1696, the garrison surrendered, without being allowed the honors of war,

or to carry out with them either arms or ammunition; they were also obliged to deliver up the renegade Jacob to the conquerors.

The czar immediately set about fortifying Azov, built strong forts to protect it, and made a harbor capable of holding large vessels, with the design of making himself master of the Straits of Bosphorus, which command the entrance into the Black Sea; places famous in ancient times by the naval armaments of Mithridates. He left thirty-two armed saics before Azov, and made all the necessary preparations for fitting out a fleet against the Turks, to consist of nine ships of sixty guns, and of forty-one from thirty to fifty. He obliged his principal nobles and the richer merchants to contribute toward this armament; and thinking that the estates of the clergy should help the common cause, he obliged the patriarch, the bishops, and the principal clergy to pay a sum of ready money to forward this expedition in honor of their country and the advantage of the Christian faith. The Cossacks were employed in building a number of those light boats in use among them, and which were excellent for the purpose of cruising on the coasts of Crim Tartary. The Ottoman Empire was alarmed at this powerful armament; the first that had ever been attempted on the Sea of Azov. The czar's scheme was to drive the Turks and the Tartars forever out of the Taurica Chersonesus, and afterward to establish a free and easy commerce with Persia through Georgia. This is the very trade which the Greeks for-

merly carried on to Colchis, and to this peninsula of Crim Tartary, which Peter now seemed on the point of conquering.

Having subdued the Turks and the Tartars, he was willing to accustom his people to splendid shows, as well as to military labor. He made his army enter into Moscow, under triumphal arches, in the midst of superb fireworks and everything that could add to the lustre of the festival. The soldiers who had fought on board the Venetian saics against the Turks, and who were a distinct corps of themselves, marched first. Marshal Scheremetoff, General Gordon, General Schein, Admiral Lefort, and the other general officers all took the precedence of their monarch in this procession, who declared he had no rank in the army, being desirous to convince the nobility, by his example, that the only way to acquire military preferment was to deserve it.

This triumphal entry seemed somewhat akin to those of the ancient Romans, in which the conquerors were wont to expose the prisoners they had taken to public view, and sometimes put them to death. In like manner the slaves taken in this expedition followed the army; and the deserter, Jacob, who had betrayed them, was drawn in an open cart, in which was a gibbet, to which his body was fastened after he had been broken on the wheel.

On this occasion was struck the first medal in Russia, with this remarkable legend, in the language of the country: "Peter the First, August Emperor of Muscovy." On the reverse was the city of Azov, with these words: "Victorious by Fire and Water."

Peter felt a sensible concern in the midst of all these successes that his ships and galleys in the Sea of Azov had been built entirely by the hands of foreigners; and wished as earnestly to have a harbor in the Baltic Sea, as upon the Black Sea.

Accordingly, in March, 1677, he sent threescore young Russians of Lefort's regiment into Italy, most of them to Venice, and the rest to Leghorn, to instruct themselves in the naval art and the manner of constructing galleys. He also sent forty others into Holland to learn the method of building and working large ships; and others likewise into Germany, to serve in the land forces and instruct themselves in the military discipline of that nation. At length he resolved to absent himself for a few years from his own dominions in order to learn how to govern them the better. He had an irresistible inclination to improve himself, by his own observation and practice, in the knowledge of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he was so desirous to establish in his own country. He proposed to travel incognito through Denmark, Brandenburg, Holland, Vienna, Venice and Rome. France and Spain were the only countries he did not take into his plan; Spain, because the arts he was in quest of were too much neglected there; and France, because in that kingdom they reigned with too much ostentation, and the parade and state of Louis XIV., which had disgusted so many crowned heads, ill agreed with the private manner in which he proposed to travel. Moreover, he was in alliance with most of the powers whose dominions he intended to

visit, except those of France and Rome. He also remembered, with some degree of resentment, the little respect shown by Louis XIV. to his embassy in 1687, which had proved more famous than successful; and lastly, he already began to espouse the cause of Augustus, elector of Saxony, with whom the prince of Conti had lately entered into competition for the crown of Poland.

CHAPTER IX.

TRAVELS OF PETER THE GREAT.

HAVING determined to visit the several countries and courts above mentioned, he put himself into the retinue of three ambassadors, in the same manner as he had before mingled in the train of his generals at his triumphal entry into Moscow.

The three ambassadors were General Lefort, the boyar Alexis Golovin, commissary-general of war and governor of Siberia, the same who signed the perpetual treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of China on the frontiers of that empire; and Vosnitzin, secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. Four principal secretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages for each ambassador, a company of fifty guards, with their officers, all of the regiment of Preobrazinski, composed the chief retinue of this embassy, which consisted of two hundred persons; and the czar, reserving to himself only one valet de chambre, a servant in livery, and

a dwarf, mingled with the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in history, for a king of twenty-five years of age, to quit his dominions in order to learn the art of governing. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, the splendor of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the number of foreign troops attached to his service, the death of his brother John, his co-partner in the empire, and the confinement of the Princess Sophia to a cloister, and, above all, the universal respect shown to his person, seemed to assure him the tranquillity of his kingdom during his absence. He intrusted the regency to the boyar Strechnef and Prince Romadonowski, who were to deliberate with the rest of the boyars in cases of importance.

Two troops raised by General Gordon remained behind in Moscow to keep everything quiet in that capital. Those strelitzes who were thought likely to create a disturbance were distributed in the frontiers of Crim Tartary, to preserve the conquest of Azov, and to check the incursions of the Tartars. Having provided against every incident, he gave free scope to his passion and desire of improvement.

As this journey proved the cause, or at least the pretext, of the bloody war which so long hindered, but in the end promoted, all the designs of the czar; which drove Augustus, king of Poland, from the throne, placed that crown on the head of Stanislaus, and then stripped him of it; which made Charles XII. king of Sweden, the first of conquerors for nine years, and the most unfortunate of kings for nine more; it is necessary, in order to enter into a

detail of these events, to take a view of the state of Europe at that time.

Sultan Mustapha II. sat at that time on the Ottoman throne. The weakness of his administration would not permit him to make any great efforts either against Leopold, emperor of Germany, whose arms were successful in Hungary, nor against the czar, who had lately taken Azov from him, and threatened to make himself master of the Black Sea; nor even against the Venetians, who had made themselves masters of all the Peloponnesus.

John Sobieski, king of Poland, forever famous by the victory of Choti and the deliverance of Vienna, died June 17, 1696, and the possession of that crown was in dispute between Augustus, elector of Saxony, who obtained it, and Armand, prince of Conti, who had only the honor of being elected.

In 1697 Sweden had lost, but without regret, Charles XI., her sovereign, the first king who had ever been really absolute in that country, and who was the father of a prince still more so, and with whom all despotic power ceased. He left the crown to his son, Charles XII., a youth of fifteen years of age. This was apparently favorable for the czar's design; he had it in his power to extend his dominions on the Gulf of Finland and on the side of Livonia. But he did not think it enough to harass the Turks on the Black Sea; the settlements on the Sea of Azov and the borders of the Caspian Sea were not sufficient to answer his schemes of navigation, commerce and power. Besides, glory, which is

the darling object of every reformer, was to be found neither in Persia nor in Turkey, but in our parts of Europe, where great talents are rendered immortal. In a word, Peter did not aim at introducing either the Persian or Turkish manners among his subjects.

Germany, then at war with both the Turks and the French, and united with Spain, England, and Holland, against the single power of Louis XIV., was on the point of concluding peace, and the plenipotentiaries had already met at the castle of Ryswick, in the neighborhood of The Hague.

Peter and his ambassadors began their journey in April, 1697, by way of Great Novgorod; thence they travelled through Esthonia and Livonia, provinces formerly disputed by the Russians, Swedes, and Poles, and which the Swedes at last acquired by superiority of arms.

The fertility of Livonia, and the situation of its capital, Riga, were temptations to the czar to possess himself of that country. He expressed a curiosity to see the fortifications of the citadel. But Count d'Alberg, governor of Riga, taking umbrage at this request, refused him the satisfaction he desired, and affected to treat the embassy with contempt. This behavior did not at all contribute to cool the inclination the czar might have to make himself master of those provinces.

From Livonia they proceeded to Brandenburg, Prussia, part of which had been inhabited by the ancient Vandals. Polish Prussia has been included in European Sarmatia. Brandenburg Prussia was a

poor country, and badly peopled; but its elector, who afterward took the name of king, displayed a magnificence on this occasion, equally new and destructive to his dominions. He piqued himself on receiving this embassy in his city of Königsberg, with all the pomp of royalty. The most sumptuous presents were made on both sides. The contrast between the French dress, which the court of Berlin affected, and the long Asiatic robes of the Russians, with their caps buttoned up with pearls and diamonds, and their scimitars hanging at their belts, produced a singular effect. The czar was dressed after the German fashion. The prince of Georgia, who accompanied him, was clad in a Persian habit, which displayed a different magnificence. This is the same who was taken prisoner afterward at the battle of Narva, and died in Sweden.

Peter despised all this ostentation; it would have been better had he shown an equal contempt for the pleasures of the table, in which the Germans, at that time, placed their chief glory. It was at one of these entertainments, then too much in fashion, and which are alike fatal to health and morality, that he drew his sword upon his favorite Lefort; but he expressed as much contrition for this sudden outburst of passion as Alexander did for the murder of Clytus; he asked pardon of Lefort, saying that he wanted to reform his subjects, and could not yet reform himself. General Lefort, in his manuscript, praises the czar more for this goodness of heart than he blames him for his excess of passion.

The ambassadors then went through Pomerania

and Berlin; and thence, one part took its way through Magdeburg, and the other by Hamburg, a city which already begun to be renowned for its extensive commerce, but not so rich and populous as it has become since. Thence they directed their route toward Minden, crossed Westphalia, and at length, by the way of Cleves, arrived at Amsterdam.

The czar reached this city fifteen days before the ambassadors. At his first coming, he lodged in a house belonging to the East India Company; but soon afterward he took a small apartment in the dock-yard, belonging to the admiralty. He then put on the habit of a Dutch skipper, and in that dress went to the village of Saardam, a place where a great many more ships were built than at present. This village is as large, as populous, as rich, as many opulent towns, and much neater. The czar greatly admired the multitude of people who were constantly employed there, the order and regularity of their times of working, the despatch with which they built and fitted out ships, the number of warehouses, and machines for the greater ease and security of labor. The czar began with purchasing a bark, to which he made a mast with his own hands; after that, he worked on all the different parts in the construction of a vessel, living in the same manner as the workmen at Saardam, dressing and eating like them, and working in the forges, the rope-walks, and in the several mills, which are in that village, for sawing timber, extracting oil, making paper, and drawing wire. He caused himself to be enrolled in the list of carpenters, by the name of Peter Mi-

chaelhoff, and was commonly called Peter Bas, or Master Peter: the workmen were at first confounded at having a crowned head for a fellow laborer, but soon became familiarized to the sight.

While he was thus handling the compass and the ax at Saardam, a confirmation was brought him of the division in Poland, and of the double nomination of the elector Augustus, and the prince of Conti. The carpenter of Saardam immediately promised King Augustus to assist him with thirty thousand men, and from his work-loft issued orders to his army that was assembled in the Ukraine against the Turks.

On August 11, 1697, his troops gained a victory over the Tartars near Azov, and a few months afterward took from them the city of Or, or Orkapi, which we call Precop. As to himself, he still continued improving in different arts: he went frequently from Saardam to Amsterdam, to hear the lectures of the celebrated anatomist, Ruysch, and made himself master of several operations in surgery, which, in case of necessity, might be of use to himself and his officers. He went through a course of natural philosophy, in the house of burgomaster Witzen, a person estimable for his patriotic virtue, and the noble use he made of his immense riches, which he distributed like a citizen of the world, sending men of ability, at a great expense, to all parts of the globe, in search of whatever was most rare and valuable, and fitting out vessels at his own expense to make new discoveries.

Peter Bas gave a truce to his labors for a short

time, but it was only to pay a private visit at Utrecht and at The Hague, to William, king of England, and stadtholder of the United Provinces. General Lefort was the only one admitted to the private conference of the two monarchs. Peter assisted afterward at the public entry of his ambassadors, and at their audience; they presented in his name to the deputy of the states six hundred of the most beautiful sables that could be procured; and the states, over and above the customary presents on these occasions, of a gold chain and a medal, gave them three magnificent coaches. They received the first visits of all the plenipotentiaries who were at the Congress of Ryswick, excepting those of France, to whom they had not announced their arrival, not only because the czar espoused the cause of Augustus against the prince of Conti, but also because King William, whose friendship he was desirous of cultivating, was averse to a peace with France.

At his return to Amsterdam, he resumed his former occupations, and completed with his own hands a ship of sixty guns, that he had begun himself, and sent her to Archangel, which was the only port he had at that time on the ocean.

He not only engaged in his service several French refugees, Swiss, and Germans; but he also sent all sorts of artists to Moscow, having made a trial of their abilities himself. There were few trades or arts which he did not perfectly well understand in their minutest branches: he took a particular pleasure in correcting, with his hands, the geographical maps, which at that time showed the positions of

the towns and rivers in his vast dominions, then little known. There is still preserved a map, on which he marked out, with his own hand, his projected union of the Caspian and Black Seas, the execution of which he had given in charge of Mr. Brekel, a German engineer. The junction of these two seas was indeed a less difficult enterprise than that of the ocean and Mediterranean, which was effected in France; but the very idea of joining the Sea of Azov with the Caspian, astonished the imagination at that time: but new establishments in that country became the object of his attention, in proportion as his successes begat new hopes.

His troops, commanded by General Schein and Prince Dolgorouki, had, in July, 1696, gained a victory over the Tartars near Azov, and likewise over a body of janissaries sent by Sultan Mustapha to their assistance. This success served to make him more respected, even by those who blamed him as a sovereign, for having quitted his dominions, to turn workman at Amsterdam. They now saw that the affairs of the monarch did not suffer by the labors of the philosopher, the traveller, and the artificer.

He remained at Amsterdam, constantly employed in his usual occupations of ship-building, engineering, geography, and the practice of natural philosophy, till the middle of January, 1698, and then he set out for England, but still as one of the retinue of his ambassadors.

King William sent his own yacht to meet him, and two ships of war as convoy. In England, he

observed the same manner of living as at Amsterdam and Saardam; he took an apartment near the king's dockyard at Deptford, where he applied himself wholly to gain instruction. The Dutch builders had taught him their method, and the practical part of ship-building. In England, he found the art better explained; for there they work according to mathematical proportion. He soon made himself so perfect in this science that he was able to give lessons to others. He began to build a ship according to the English method of construction, and it proved a prime sailer. The art of watchmaking, which was already brought to perfection in London, next attracted his attention, and he made himself complete master of the whole theory; Captain Perry, the engineer, who followed him from London to Russia, says that, from the casting of cannon, to the spinning of ropes, there was not any one branch of trade belonging to a ship that he did not minutely observe, and even put his hand to, as often as he came into the places where those trades were carried on.

In order to cultivate his friendship, he was allowed to engage several English artificers in his service, as he had done in Holland; but over and above artificers, he engaged some mathematicians, which he would not so easily have found in Amsterdam. Ferguson, a Scotchman, an excellent geometrician, entered into his service, and was the first person who brought arithmetic into use in the exchequer of Russia, where, before that time, they made use of the Tartarian method of reckoning,

with balls strung upon a wire; a method which supplied the place of writing, but was very perplexing and imperfect, because, after the calculation, there was no method of proving it, in order to discover any error. The figures which are now in use, were not introduced among us till the ninth century, by Arabs; and they did not make their way into the Russian Empire till a thousand years afterward. Such has been the fate of the arts, to make their progress slowly round the globe. He took with him two young students from a mathematical school, and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded afterward by Peter the Great. He observed and calculated eclipses with Ferguson. Perry, the engineer, though greatly discontented at not being sufficiently rewarded, acknowledges that Peter made himself proficient in astronomy; that he perfectly well understood the motions of the heavenly bodies, as well as the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed. This force, now so evidently demonstrated, and before the time of the great Newton so little known, by which all the planets gravitate toward one another, and which retains them in their orbits, was already familiar to a sovereign of Russia, while other countries amused themselves with imaginary vertices, and, in Galileo's nation, one set of ignorant persons ordered others, as ignorant, to believe the earth to be immovable.

Perry set out in order to effect a communication between rivers, to build bridges, and construct sluices. The czar's plan was to open a communi-

cation by means of canals between the ocean, the Caspian, and the Black Seas.

We must not forget to observe that a set of English merchants, with the marquis of Caermarthen at their head, gave Peter fifteen thousand pounds sterling for the permission of selling tobacco in Russia. The patriarch, by a mistaken severity, had interdicted this branch of trade; for the Russian Church forbade smoking as an unclean and sinful action. Peter, who knew better things, and who, among his many projected changes, meditated a reformation of the Church, introduced this commodity of trade into his dominions.

Before Peter left England, he was entertained by King William with a spectacle worthy such a guest: this was a mock sea-fight. Little was it then imagined that the czar would one day fight a real sea battle against the Swedes, and gain naval victories in the Baltic. In fine, William made him a present of the vessel in which he used to go over to Holland, called the *Royal Transport,* a beautiful yacht, and magnificently adorned. In this vessel Peter returned to Holland, in the latter end of 1698, taking with him three captains of ships of war, twenty-five captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, as many surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and over three hundred artificers. This little colony of persons, skilful in all branches, sailed from Holland to Archangel, on board the *Royal Transport,* and from there were distributed into all the different places where their services were necessary. Those who had been en-

gaged at Amsterdam went by the way of Narva, which then belonged to the Swedes.

While he was thus transplanting the arts and manufactures of England and Holland into his own country, the officers he had sent to Rome and other places in Italy had likewise engaged some artists in his service. General Sheremetoff, who was at the head of his embassy to Italy, made a tour of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Malta, while the czar proceeded to Vienna with his other ambassadors. He had now only to view the military discipline of the Germans, after having seen the English fleets, and the dockyards of Holland. Politics had likewise as great a share in this journey as the desire of instruction. The emperor was his natural ally against the Turks. Peter had a private audience with Leopold, and the two monarchs conferred standing, to avoid the trouble of ceremony.

Nothing worthy of remark occurred during his stay at Vienna, except the celebration of the ancient feast of the landlord and landlady, which had been neglected for some time, and which Leopold thought proper to revive upon the czar's account. This feast, which the Germans call *Wirthschaft,* is celebrated in the following manner:

The emperor is landlord and the empress landlady, the king of the Romans, the archdukes and the archduchesses are generally their assistants: they entertain people of all nations as their guests, who come dressed after the most ancient fashion of their respective countries: those who are invited to the feast draw lots for tickets, on each of which

is written the name of the nation, and the character to be represented. One perhaps draws a ticket for a Chinese mandarin; another for a Tartar mitza; a third for a Persian satrap; and a fourth for a Roman senator; a princess may, by her ticket, be a gardener's wife, or a milkmaid; a prince a peasant, or a common soldier. Dances are arranged suitable to all these characters, and the landlord and landlady with their family wait at table. Such was the ancient institution; but on this occasion, Joseph, king of the Romans, and the countess of Traun, represented the ancient Egyptians. The archduke Charles, and the countess of Wallenstein, were dressed like Flemings in the time of Charles V. The archduchess Mary Elizabeth, and Count Traun, were in the habits of Tartars; the archduchess Josephina, and the count of Workslaw, were habited like Persians, and the archduchess Mariamne, and Prince Maximilian of Hanover, in the character of North Holland peasants. Peter appeared in the dress of a Friesland boor, and all who spoke to him addressed him in that character, at the same time talking to him of the great czar of Muscovy. These are trifling particulars; but whatever revives the remembrance of ancient manners and customs is in some degree worthy of being recorded.

Peter was ready to set out from Vienna, in order to proceed to Venice, to complete his tour of inspection, when he received news of a rebellion, which had lately broken out in his dominions.

CHAPTER X.

THE CORPS OF STRELITZES ABOLISHED—ALTERATIONS IN CUSTOMS, MANNERS, CHURCH, AND STATE.

CZAR PETER, when he left his dominions to set out on his travels, had provided against every incident, even that of a rebellion. But the great and serviceable things he had done for his country proved the very cause of this rebellion.

Certain old boyars, to whom the ancient customs were still dear, and some precepts, to whom the new ones appeared little better than sacrilege, began these disturbances, and the old faction of Princess Sophia took this opportunity to rouse itself anew. It is said that one of her sisters, who was confined in the same monastery, contributed not a little to excite these seditions. Care was taken to spread abroad the danger to be feared from the introduction of foreigners to instruct the nation. In short, who would believe that the permission which the czar had given to import tobacco into his empire, contrary to the inclination of the clergy, was one of the chief causes of the insurrection? Superstition, the scourge of every country, and yet the darling of the multitude, spread itself from the common people to the strelitzes, who had been scattered on the frontiers of Lithuania: they assembled in a body, and marched toward Moscow, intending to place the Princess Sophia on the throne, and forever to prevent the return of a czar who had violated the established customs,* by presuming to travel for in-

*A most extraordinary instance of the obstinate attachment of the Russians to their old customs happened

struction among foreigners. The forces commanded by Schein and Gordon, who were much better disciplined than the strelitzes, met them fifteen leagues from Moscow, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them: but this advantage gained by a foreign general over the ancient militia, among whom were several of the burghers of Moscow, contributed still more to irritate the people.

To quell these tumults, the czar set out privately from Vienna, passed through Poland, had a private interview with Augustus, concerted measures with that prince for extending the Russian dominions on the side of the Baltic, and at length, in September, 1698, arrived at Moscow, where he surprised everyone with his presence: he then conferred rewards on the troops who had defeated the strelitzes, of whom the prisons were now full. If the crimes of these unhappy wretches were great, their punishment was no less so. Their leaders, with several of their officers and priests, were condemned to death; some were broken on the wheel, and two

in the time of the czar Basilowitz, and undoubtedly influenced him not a little in the severity with which he treated his people. The king of Poland, Stephen Báthori, having recovered Livonia, went himself into that province to establish a new form of government, according to the constant custom there. When the peasants, all of whom were treated as slaves, had committed errors, they were whipped with a rod till the blood came. The king was willing to commute this barbarous punishment to one that was more moderate; but the peasants, insensible of the favor designed them, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated him not to make any alterations in their ancient customs, because they had experienced that all innovations, far from procuring them the least redress, had always made their burdens sit the heavier on them.

women were buried alive; more than two thousand of the strelitzes were executed, part of whom were hanged round about the walls of the city, and others put to death in different manners, and their dead bodies remained exposed for two days in the high roads,* particularly about the monastery where the princesses Sophia and Eudocia resided. Monuments of stone were erected, on which their crimes and punishments were set forth. A number of them, who had wives and children at Moscow, were dispersed with their families into Siberia, the kingdom of Astrakhan, and the country of Azov. This punishment was at least of service to the state, as they helped to cultivate and people a large tract of waste land.

Perhaps, if the czar had not found it absolutely necessary to make such terrible examples, he might have employed part of those strelitzes, whom he put to death, on the public works; whereas they were now lost both to him and the state: the lives of men should be held in great estimation, especially in a country where the increase of inhabitants should have been the principal care of the legisla-

*Captain Perry, in p. 184 of his memoirs, says that these executions being performed in the depth of winter, the bodies were immediately frozen; those who were beheaded were ordered to be left in the same posture as when executed, in ranks upon the ground, with their heads lying by them; and those who were hanged round the three walls of the city, were left hanging the whole winter, to the view of the people, till the warm weather began to come on in the spring, when they were taken down and buried together in a pit, to prevent infection. This author adds that there were other gibbets placed on all the public roads leading to Moscow, where others of these rebels were hanged.

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the military rank.

After the death of Lefort, it appeared plainly that the changes in the state were not owing to that general, but to the czar himself. Peter had indeed been confirmed in his design, in his conversations with Lefort; but he had formed and executed them all without his assistance.

As soon as he had suppressed the strelitzes, he established regular regiments on the German model, who were all clothed in a short and convenient uniform, instead of those long and troublesome coats, which they used to wear; and, at the same time, their exercise was more regular.

The regiment of Preobrazinski guards was already formed: it had taken its name from the first company of fifty men, whom the czar had trained up in his younger days, in his retreat at Preobrazinski, at the time when his sister Sophia governed the state, and the other regiment of guards was also established.

As he had himself passed through the lowest degrees in the army, he was resolved that the sons of his boyars and great men should serve as common soldiers before they were made officers. He sent some of the young nobility on board his fleet at Voronezh and Azov, where he obliged them to serve their apprenticeship as common seamen. No one dared dispute the commands of a master who had himself set the example. The English and Dutch he had brought over with him were employed in equipping this fleet for sea, in constructing sluices, and building docks for repairing the ships, and to resume the great work of connecting the Don and the

Volga, which had been dropped by Brekel, the German engineer.

And now the czar began to set about his projected reformations in the council of state, in the revenue, in the Church, and even in society itself.

The affairs of the revenue had been hitherto administered much in the same manner as in Turkey. Each boyar paid a stipulated sum for his lands, which he raised from the peasants, his vassals; the czar appointed certain burghers and burgomasters to be his receivers, who were not powerful enough to claim the right of paying only such sums as they thought proper, into the public treasury. This new administration of the finances was what cost him the most trouble: he was obliged to try several methods before he could select a proper one.

The reformation of the Church, which in all other countries is regarded as so dangerous and difficult, was not so to him. The patriarchs had at times opposed the authority of the crown, as well as the strelitzes; Nicon with insolence, Joachin, one of his successors, in an artful manner.

The bishops had arrogated the power of life and death, a prerogative directly contrary to the spirit of religion, and the subordination of government. This assumed power, which had been of long standing, was now taken from them. The patriarch Adrian, dying at the close of this century, Peter declared that there should for the future be no other.

This dignity then was entirely suppressed, and the great income belonging thereto was united to the public revenue, which stood in need of this ad-

dition. Although the czar did not set himself up as head of the Russian Church, as the kings of Great Britain have done in regard to the Church of England; yet he was, in fact, absolute master over it, because the synods did not dare either to disobey the commands of a despotic sovereign, or to dispute with a prince who had more knowledge than themselves.

We need only cast an eye on the preamble to the edict, concerning his ecclesiastical regulations, issued in 1721, to be convinced that he acted at once as master and legislator:

"We should deem ourselves guilty of ingratitude to the Most High, if, after having reformed the military and civil orders, we neglected the spiritual. . . . . For this cause, following the example of the most ancient kings, who have been famed for piety, we have taken upon us to make certain wholesome regulations, touching the clergy."

It is true, he convened a synod for carrying into execution his ecclesiastical degrees; but the members of this synod on assuming office, were to take an oath, the form of which had been drawn up and signed by himself. This was an oath of submission and obedience, and was couched in the following terms:

"I swear to be a faithful and obedient servant and subject to my true and natural sovereign, and to the august successors whom it shall please him to nominate, in virtue of the incontestable right of which he is possessed; I acknowledge him to be the supreme judge of this spiritual college; I swear by the all-seeing God, that I understand and mean this

oath in the full force and sense which the words convey to those who read or hear it."

This oath is much stronger than that of the supremacy in England. The Russian monarch was not, indeed, one of the fathers of the synod, but he dictated their laws; and although he did not touch the holy censer, he directed the hands that held it.

Previous to this great work, he thought that, in a state like his, which stood in need of being peopled, the celibacy of the monks was contrary to nature, and to the public good. It was the ancient custom of the Russian Church for secular priests to marry at least once in their lives; they were even obliged so to do: and formerly they ceased to be priests as soon as they lost their wives. But that a multitude of young people of both sexes should make a vow of living useless in a cloister, and at the expense of others, appeared to him a dangerous institution. He, therefore, ordered that no one should be admitted to a monastic life till fifty years of age, a time of life very rarely subject to a temptation of this kind; and he forbade any person to be admitted, of any age, who was in the public service.

This regulation has been repealed since his death, because the government has thought proper to show more complaisance to the monasteries; but the patriarchal dignity has never been revived, and its great revenues are now appropriated to the payment of the troops.

These alterations at first excited some murmurings. A certain priest wrote to prove that Peter was Antichrist, because he would not admit of a pa-

triarch; and the art of printing, which the czar encouraged in his kingdom, was made use of to publish libels against him; but on the other hand, there was another priest who started up to prove that Peter could not be Antichrist, because the number six hundred and sixty-six was not to be found in his name, and that he had not the sign of the beast. All complaints, however, were soon quieted. Peter, in fact, gave much more to the Church than he took from it; for he made the clergy, by degrees, more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at Moscow, where they teach the languages, and where those who are designed for the priesthood are obliged to study.

One of the most necessary reforms was the suppression, or at least the mitigation, of the Three Lents, an ancient superstition of the Greek Church, and as prejudicial to those who are employed in public works, and especially to soldiers, as was the old Jewish superstition of not fighting on the Sabbath day. Accordingly, the czar dispensed with his workmen and soldiers, observing these Lents, in which, though they were not permitted to eat, they were accustomed to get drunk. He also dispensed with their observance of meagre days; the chaplains of the fleet and army were obliged to set the example, which they did without much reluctance.

The calendar was another important object. Formerly, in all the countries of the world, the chiefs of religion had the care of regulating the year, not only on account of the feasts to be observed, but be-

cause, in ancient times, the priests were the only persons who understood astronomy.

The Russian year began on September 1. Peter ordered that it should for the future commence on January 1, as among the other nations of Europe. This alteration was to take place in the year 1700, at the beginning of the century, which he celebrated by a jubilee, and other grand solemnities. It was a matter of surprise to the common people, how the czar should be able to change the course of the sun. Some obstinate persons, persuaded that God had created the world in September, continued the old style: but the alteration took place in all the public offices in the court of chancery, and in a little while throughout the whole empire. Peter did not adopt the Gregorian calendar, because it had been rejected by the English mathematicians; but it must, nevertheless, sooner or later be received in all countries.

Ever since the fifth century, when letters first came into use among them, they had been accustomed to write upon long rolls, made either of the bark of trees, or of parchment, and afterward of paper; and the czar was obliged to publish an edict, ordering every one, for the future, to write after our manner.

The reformation now became general. Their marriages were made formerly as in Turkey and Persia, where the bridegroom does not see his bride till the contract is signed, and they cannot then revoke their words. This custom may do well enough among those people, where polygamy prevails, and

where the women are always shut up; but it is a very bad one in countries where a man is limited to one wife, and where divorces are seldom allowed.

The czar was willing to accustom his people to the manners and customs of the nations, which he had visited in his travels, and from which he had taken the masters, who were now instructing them.

It appeared necessary that the Russians should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences; because the aversion to strangers, which is but too natural to mankind, is not a little kept up by a difference of dress. The full dress, which at that time partook of the fashions of the Poles, the Tartars, and the ancient Hungarians, was, as we have elsewhere observed, very noble; but the dress of the burghers and common people resembled those jackets plaited round the waist, which are still given to the poor children in some of the French hospitals. In general, the robe was formerly the dress of all nations, as being a garment that required the least trouble and art; and for the same reason the beard was suffered to grow. The czar met with but little difficulty in introducing our mode of dress and the custom of shaving among the courtiers; but the people were more obstinate, and he found himself obliged to levy a tax on long coats and beards. Patterns of close-bodied coats were hung up in public places; and those who refused to pay the tax, were obliged to suffer their robes and their beards to be curtailed; all this was done in a jocular manner, and this air of pleasantry prevented seditions.

It has ever been the aim of legislators to render mankind more sociable; but it is not sufficient to effect this end, that they live together in towns; there must be a mutual intercourse of civility. This intercourse sweetens all the bitterness of life. The czar, therefore, introduced those assemblies, which the Italians call *"ridotti."* To these assemblies he invited all the ladies of his court, with their daughters; and they were to appear dressed after the fashions of the southern nations of Europe. He was even at the pains of drawing up rules for all the little decorums to be observed at these social entertainments. Thus even to good breeding among his subjects, all was his own work, and that of time.

To make his people relish these innovations the better, he abolished the word *"golut,"* meaning "slave," always made use of by the Russians when they addressed their czar, or presented any petition to him; and ordered that, for the future, they should make use of the word *"raab,"* which signifies "subject." This alteration in no wise diminished the obedience due to the sovereign, and yet was the most ready means of securing their affections. Every month produced some new change or institution. He carried his attention even to ordering painted posts to be set up in the road between Moscow and Voronezh, to serve as milestones, at the distance of every verst; that is to say, every seven hundred paces, and had a public inn built at the end of every twentieth verst.

While he was thus extending his cares to the common people, to the merchants, and to the travel-

ler, he thought proper to make an addition to the pomp and splendor of his own court. For, though he hated pomp or show in his own person, he thought it necessary in those about him. He, therefore, instituted the Order of St. Andrew, in imitation of the several orders with which all the courts of Europe abound. Golovin, who succeeded Lefort in the dignity of high admiral, was the first knight of this order. It was esteemed a high reward to have the honor of being admitted a member. It was a kind of badge that entitled the person who bore it, to the respect of the people. This mark of honor costs nothing to the sovereign, and flatters the self-love of a subject, without rendering him too powerful.

These many useful innovations were received with applause by the wiser part of the nation; and the murmurings and complaints of those who adhered to the ancient customs were drowned in the acclamations of men of sound judgment.

While Peter was thus beginning a new creation in the interior part of his state, he concluded an advantageous truce with the Turks, which gave him liberty to extend his territories on another side. Mustapha II., who had been defeated by Prince Eugene, at the battle of Zenta in 1697, stripped of the Morea by the Venetians, and unable to defend Azov, was obliged to make peace with his victorious enemies, which peace was concluded at Karlowitz, on January 26, 1699, between Peterwardein and Slankamen, places made famous by his defeats. Temesvar was made the boundary of the German possessions, and of the Ottoman dominions. Kam-

enets-Podolski was restored to the Poles; the Morea, and some towns in Dalmatia, which had been taken by the Venetians, remained in their hands for some time; and Peter I. continued in possession of Azov, and of a few forts built in its neighborhood.

It was not possible for the czar to extend his dominions on the side of Turkey, without drawing upon him the forces of that empire, before divided, but now united. His naval projects were too vast for the sea of Azov, and the settlements on the Caspian Sea would not admit of a fleet of men-of-war: he, therefore, turned his views toward the Baltic Sea, but without relinquishing those in regard to the Don and Volga.

CHAPTER XI.

WAR WITH SWEDEN.

The Battle of Narva.

A GRAND scene opened in 1700 on the frontiers of Sweden. One of the principal causes of all the revolutions which happened, from Ingria as far as Dresden, and which laid waste so many countries for eighteen years, was the abuse of the supreme power, by Charles XI., king of Sweden, father of Charles XII. This is a fact which cannot be too often repeated, as it concerns every crowned head, and every nation; almost all Livonia, with the whole of Esthonia, had been ceded by the Poles to Charles XI., king of Sweden, who succeeded Charles X., at the time of the treaty of Oliva. It was ceded in

the customary manner, with a reservation of rights and privileges. Charles XI., showing little regard for these privileges, John Reinhold Patkul, a gentleman of Livonia, came to Stockholm in 1692, at the head of six deputies from the province, and laid their complaints at the foot of the throne, in respectful, but strong, terms. As a reply, the deputies were ordered to be imprisoned, and Patkul was condemned to lose his honor and his life; but he lost neither, for he made his escape to the canton of Vaud, in Switzerland, where he remained some time; when he afterward was informed that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised at his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces that had been wrested from that kingdom, he hastened to Dresden, to represent to that prince, how easily he might make himself master of Livonia, and avenge upon a king, only seventeen years of age, the losses that Poland had sustained by his ancestors.

At this very time Czar Peter entertained thoughts of seizing Ingria and Karelia. These provinces had formerly belonged to the Russians, but the Swedes had made themselves masters of them by force of arms, in the time of the false Demetriuses, and had retained the possession of them by treaties; another war and new treaties might restore them again to Russia. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and by inciting the two monarchs to avenge his private causes, he cemented a close union between them, and directed their preparations for invading all the places situated to the east and south of Finland.

Just at this period, the new king of Denmark, Frederick IV., entered into an alliance with the czar and the king of Poland, against Charles, the young king of Sweden, who seemed in no condition to withstand their united forces. Patkul had the satisfaction of besieging the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia, and directing the attack as major-general.

The czar marched nearly twenty thousand men into Ingria. It is true that, in this numerous army, he had not more than 12,000 good soldiers, being those he had disciplined himself; namely, the two regiments of guards, and some few others, the rest being a badly armed militia, with some Cossacks and Circassian Tartars; but he carried with him one hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon. He laid siege to Narva, a small town in Ingria that had a very commodious harbor, and it was generally thought the place would prove an easy conquest.

It is known to all Europe, how Charles XII., when not quite eighteen years of age, made head against all his enemies, and attacked them one after another; he entered Denmark, put an end to the war in that kingdom in less than six weeks, sent aid to Riga, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and marched against the Russians encamped before Narva, through ice and snow, in the month of November.

The czar, who looked upon Narva as already in his possession, had gone to Novgorod, and had taken with him his favorite, Menshikoff, then a lieutenant in the company of bombardiers, of the Preob-

razinski regiment, and afterward raised to the rank of field-marshal, and prince; a man whose singular fortunes entitle him to be spoken of more fully in another place.

Peter left the command of the army, with his instructions for the siege, with the prince of Croy, whose family came from Flanders, and who had lately entered into the czar's service. Prince Dolgorouki acted as commissary of the army. The jealousy between those two chiefs, and the absence of the czar, were partly the occasion of the unparalleled defeat at Narva.

Charles XII., having landed at Pernau in Livonia with his troops, in the month of October, advanced northward to Revel, where he defeated an advanced body of Russians. He continued his march, and meeting with another body, routed that also. The runaways returned to the camp before Narva, which they filled with consternation. The month of November was now far advanced; Narva, though unskilfully besieged, was on the point of surrendering. The young king of Sweden had not at that time above nine thousand men with him, and could bring only six pieces of cannon to oppose a hundred and forty-five, with which the Russian intrenchments were defended. All the accounts of that time, and all historians without exception, concur in making the Russian army then before Narva, amount to eighty thousand men. The memoirs with which I have been furnished say sixty thousand; be that as it may, it is certain that Charles had not quite nine thousand, and that this battle was one of those which

prove that the greatest victories have been frequently gained by inferior numbers, ever since the famed one of Arbela.

Charles did not hesitate one moment to attack this army, so greatly superior; and taking advantage of a violent wind, and a great storm of snow, which blew directly in the faces of the Russians, he attacked their intrenchments under cover of some pieces of cannon, which he had posted advantageously for the purpose. The Russians had not time to form themselves in the midst of that cloud of snow, that beat full in their faces, and were astonished by the discharge of cannon that they could not see, and never imagined how small a number they had to oppose.

The prince of Croy attempted to give his orders, but Prince Dolgorouki would not receive them. The Russian officers rose against the German officers; the duke's secretary, Colonel Lyon, and several others were murdered. Everyone abandoned his post, and tumult, confusion, and a panic spread through the whole army. The Swedish troops had nothing to do but to cut to pieces those who were flying. Some threw themselves into the river Narva, where great numbers were drowned; others threw down their arms, and fell upon their knees before the conquering Swedes.

The prince of Croy, General Allard, and the rest of the general officers, dreading the Russians more than the Swedes, went in a body and surrendered themselves prisoners to Count Steinbock. The king of Sweden now made himself master of the artillery.

Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed off bareheaded and disarmed before him. Prince Dolgorouki and all the Russian generals came and surrendered themselves, as well as the Germans, but did not know till after they had surrendered, that they had been conquered by eight thousand men. Among the prisoners, was the son of a king of Georgia, whom Charles sent to Stockholm; his name was Mittelesky Czarevitch, or czar's son, an additional proof that the title of czar, or tzar had not its origin from the Roman Cæsars.

Charles XII. did not lose more than twelve hundred men in this battle. The czar's journal, which has been sent me from St. Petersburg, says that including those who died at the siege of Narva, and in the battle, and those who were drowned in their flight, the Russians lost no more than six thousand men. Want of discipline and a panic that seized the army did all the work of that fatal day. The number of those made prisoners of war was four times greater than that of the conquerors; and if we may believe Norberg, Count Piper, who was afterward taken prisoner by the Russians, reproached them, that the number of their people made prisoners in the battle, exceeded by eight times the number of the whole Swedish army. If this is truth, the Swedes must have made over seventy-two thousand prisoners. This shows how seldom writers are well informed of particular circumstances. One thing, however, equally incontestable and extraordinary, is that the king of Sweden permitted one-half of the

Russian soldiers to retire, after having disarmed them, and the other half to repass the river, with their arms; by this unaccountable presumption, restoring to the czar troops that, being afterward well disciplined, became invincible.

Charles had all the advantages that could result from a complete victory. Immense magazines, transports loaded with provisions, posts evacuated or taken, and the whole country at the mercy of the Swedish army, were consequences of the fortune of this day. Narva was now relieved; the shattered remains of the Russian army did not show themselves; the whole country as far as Pskoff lay open; the czar seemed bereft of all resource for carrying on the war; and the king of Sweden, victor in less than twelve months over the monarchs of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, was looked upon as the first prince in Europe, at an age when princes hardly presume to aspire at reputation. But the unshaken constancy that made a part of Peter's character prevented him from being discouraged in any of his projects.

A Russian bishop composed a prayer to St. Nicholas, on account of this defeat, which was publicly read in all the churches throughout Russia. This composition shows the spirit of the times, and the inexpressible ignorance from which Peter delivered his country. Among other things, it says that the furious and terrible Swedes were sorcerers; and complains that St. Nicholas had entirely abandoned his Russians. The prelates of that country would blush to write such stuff at present; and, without

any offence to the holy St. Nicholas, the people soon perceived that Peter was the proper person to be applied to, to retrieve their losses.

CHAPTER XII.

RESOURCES AFTER THE BATTLE OF NARVA—THAT DISASTER ENTIRELY REPAIRED—PETER GAINS A VICTORY NEAR THE SAME PLACE—THE PERSON WHO WAS AFTERWARDS EMPRESS, MADE PRISONER AT THE STORMING OF A TOWN—PETER'S SUCCESSES—HIS TRIUMPH AT MOSCOW.*

The Years 1701 and 1702.

THE czar having quitted his army before Narva, in the end of November, 1700, in order to go and concert matters with the king of Poland, received the news of the victory gained by the Swedes as he was on his way. His constancy in all emergencies was equal to the intrepidity and valor of Charles. He deferred the conference with Augustus, and hastened to repair the disordered state of his affairs. The scattered troops rendezvoused at Great Novgorod, and marched to Pskoff on Lake Peipus.

It was not a little matter to be able to stand upon the defensive, after so severe a check: "I know very well," said Peter, "that the Swedes will have the advantage of us for some time, but they will teach us at length to conquer them."

Having provided for the present emergency, and

*This chapter and the following are taken entirely from the journal of Peter the Great, sent me from St. Petersburg.

ordered recruits to be raised on every side, he sent to Moscow, in 1701, to cast new cannon, his own having been all taken before Narva. There being a scarcity of metal, he took all the bells of the churches and of the religious houses in Moscow. This action did not savor much of superstition, but at the same time it was no mark of impiety. With those bells he made one hundred large cannon, one hundred and forty-three field-pieces, from three to six pounders, besides mortars and howitzers, which were all sent to Pskoff. In other countries the sovereign orders, and others execute; but here the czar was obliged to see everything done himself. While he was hastening these preparations, he entered into a negotiation with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furnish him with three regiments of foot, and three of cavalry; an engagement which that monarch could not fulfil.

As soon as this treaty was signed, he hastened to the theatre of war. He had an interview with King Augustus at Birzen, on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania, on February 27. His object was to confirm that prince in his resolution of maintaining the war against Charles XII., and at the same time to engage the Polish Diet to enter into the quarrel. It is well known, that a king of Poland is no more than the head person in a republic. The czar had the advantage of being always obeyed: but the kings of Poland and of England, and at present the king of Sweden, are all obliged to treat with their subjects. Patkul and a few Poles, in the interest of their monarch, assisted at these conferences. Peter promised

to aid them with subsidies, and an army of twenty-five thousand men. Livonia was to be restored to Poland, in case the diet would concur with their king, and assist in recovering this province: the diet hearkened more to their fears than to the czar's proposals. The Poles were apprehensive of having their liberties restrained by the Saxons, and Russians, and were still more afraid of Charles XII. It was therefore agreed by the majority, not to serve their king, and not to fight.

The partisans of Augustus grew enraged against the contrary faction, and a civil war was lighted up in the kingdom; because their monarch had an intention to restore to it a considerable province.

Peter then had only an impotent ally in King Augustus, and feeble help in the Saxon troops; and the terror which Charles XII. inspired on every side, reduced Peter to the necessity of depending entirely upon his own strength.

After travelling with the greatest expedition from Moscow to Courland, to confer with Augustus, he posted back from Courland to Moscow, to forward the accomplishment of his promises. In March he despatched Prince Repnin, with four thousand men, to Riga, on the banks of the Dwina, where the Saxon troops were intrenched.

The general consternation was now increased; for Charles passing the Dwina in spite of all the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite side, gained a complete victory over them in July; and then, without waiting a moment, he made himself master of Courland, advanced into Lith-

uania, and by his presence encouraged the Polish faction that opposed Augustus.

Peter, notwithstanding all this, still pursued his designs. General Patkul, who had been the soul of the conference at Birzen, and who had engaged in his service, procured him some German officers, disciplined his troops, and supplied the place of General Lefort; the czar ordered relays of horses to be provided for all the officers, and even for the German, Livonian, and Polish soldiers, who came to serve in his armies. He likewise inspected in person every particular relating to their arms, their clothing, and their rations.

On the confines of Livonia and Esthonia, and to the eastward of the province of Novgorod, lies Lake Peipus, which receives the waters of the river Velikaia, from out of the middle of Livonia, and gives rise in its northern part to the river Narova, that washes the walls of the town of Narva, near which the Swedes gained their famous victory. This lake is more than thirty leagues in length, and from twelve to fifteen in breadth. It was necessary to keep a fleet there, to prevent the Swedish ships from insulting the province of Novgorod; to be ready to make a descent on their coasts, and above all, to be a nursery for seamen. Peter employed the greater part of the year 1701, in building on this lake, a hundred half galleys, to carry about fifty men each; and other armed barks were fitted out on Lake Ladoga. He directed all these operations in person, and set his new sailors to work: those who had been employed in 1697, on the Sea of Azov, were then sta-

tioned near the Baltic. He frequently quitted those occupations to go to Moscow, and the rest of the provinces, in order to enforce the observance of the customs he had introduced, or to establish new ones.

Those princes who have employed the leisure moments of peace, in raising public works, have acquired fame; but that Peter, just after his misfortune at Narva, should apply himself to the junction of the Baltic, the Caspian, and the European seas by canals has crowned him with more real glory than the most signal victory. It was in 1702 that he began to dig that deep canal, intended to join the Don and the Volga. Other communications were to be made, by means of lakes between the Don and the Dwina, which waters empty into the Baltic, near Riga. But this latter project seemed to be still at a great distance, as Peter was far from having Riga in his possession.

While Charles was laying all Poland waste, Peter caused to be brought from that kingdom, and from Saxony, a number of shepherds with their flocks, in order to have wool fit for making good cloth; he erected manufactories of linen and paper; gave orders for collecting a number of artificers; such as smiths, braziers, armorers and founders, and the mines of Siberia were ransacked for ore. Thus was he continually laboring for the development and defence of his dominions.

Charles pursued the course of his victories, and left a sufficient body of troops, as he imagined, on the frontiers of the czar's dominions, to secure all the possessions of Sweden. He had already formed

a design to dethrone Augustus, and afterward to pursue the czar with his victorious army to the very gates of Moscow.

Several slight engagements occurred in this year between the Russians and Swedes, in which the latter did not always prove superior; and even in those where they had the advantage, the Russians improved in the art of war. In short, in little more than twelve months after the battle of Narva, the czar's troops were so well disciplined that they defeated one of the best generals belonging to the king of Sweden.

Peter was then at Pskoff, whence he detached numerous bodies of troops on all sides, to attack the Swedes; who were now defeated by a native of Russia, and not a foreigner. General Sheremeto, by a skilful manœuvre, attacked the quarters of the Swedish general, Slippembac, in several places near Derpt, on the frontiers of Livonia; and at last obtained a victory, on January 11, 1702. And now, for the first time, the Russians took from the Swedes four of their colors, which was thought a considerable number.

Lakes Peipus and Ladoga were for some time afterward the theatres of sea-fights, between the Russians and Swedes; in which the latter had the same advantage as by land: namely, that of discipline and long practice; but the Russians had some few successes with their half galleys, at Lake Peipus, and Field-Marshal Sheremeto took a Swedish frigate.

By means of this lake the czar kept Livonia and

Esthonia in continual alarm; his galleys frequently landed several regiments in those provinces; who re-embarked whenever they failed of success, or else pursued their advantage. The Swedes were twice beaten in the neighborhood of Derpt, while they were victorious everywhere else.

In all these actions the Russians were superior in number; because Charles XII., who was so successful in every other place, gave himself little concern about these trifling advantages gained by the czar; but he should have considered that these numerous forces of his rival were every day growing more accustomed to the business of fighting, and might soon become formidable.

While both parties were thus engaged by sea and land in Livonia, Ingria, and Esthonia, the czar was informed that a Swedish fleet had set sail in order to destroy Archangel; he immediately marched thither, and everyone was astonished to hear of him on the coasts of the Frozen Sea, when he was thought to be at Moscow. He put the town into a state of defence, prevented the intended descent, drew the plan of a citadel, called the New Dwina, laid the first stone, and then returned to Moscow, and from there to the seat of war.

Charles made some alliances in Poland; but the Russians, on their side, made gains in Ingria and Livonia. Marshal Sheremeto marched to meet the Swedish army under the command of Slippembac, gave that general battle near the little river Embac, and defeated him, taking sixteen colors, and twenty pieces of cannon. Norberg places this action on

Dec. 11, 1701, but the journal of Peter the Great fixes it on July 19, 1702.

After this advantage, the Russian general marched onward, laid the whole country under contribution, and took the little town of Marienburg on the confines of Ingria and Livonia on August 6th. There are several towns of this name in the north of Europe; but this, though it no longer exists, is more celebrated in history than all the others, by the adventure of the empress Catherine.

This little town, having surrendered at discretion, the Swedes, who defended it, either through mistake or design, set fire to the magazine. The Russians, incensed at this, destroyed the town, and carried away all the inhabitants. Among the prisoners was a young woman, a native of Livonia, who had been brought up in the house of a Lutheran minister of that place, named Glück, and who afterward became the sovereign of those who had taken her captive, and who governed Russia under the name of the empress Catherine.

There had been many instances before this of private women being raised to the throne; nothing was more common in Russia, and in all Asiatic kingdoms, than for crowned heads to marry their own subjects; but that a poor stranger, who had been taken prisoner in the storming of a town, should become the absolute sovereign of that very empire whither she was led captive is an instance which fortune and merit never produced before nor since in the annals of the world.

The Russian arms proved equally successful in

Ingria; for their half galleys on Lake Ladoga compelled the Swedish fleet to retire to Viborg, a town at the other extremity of this great lake, whence they could see the fortress of Noteborg, which was then besieged by General Sheremeto. This was an undertaking of much greater importance than was imagined at that time, as it might open a communication with the Baltic Sea, the constant aim of Peter the Great.

Noteborg was a strongly fortified town, built on an island in Lake Ladoga, which it commands, and by that means, whoever is in possession of it, must be master of that part of the river Neva, which falls into the sea near there. The Russians bombarded the town night and day, from September 18 till October 12; and at length made a general assault by three breaches. The Swedish garrison was reduced to a hundred men fit for service; and what is very astonishing, they did defend it, and obtained, even in the breach, an honorable capitulation on October 16; moreover, Colonel Slippembac, who commanded there, would not surrender the town, except on condition of being permitted to send for two Swedish officers from the nearest post, to examine the breaches, in order to be witnesses for him to the king, his master, that eighty-three men, who were all then left of the garrison capable of bearing arms, besides one hundred and fifty sick and wounded, did not surrender to a whole army, till it was impossible for them to fight longer, or to preserve the place. This circumstance alone shows what sort of an enemy the czar had to contend with,

and the necessity there was of all his great efforts and military discipline. He distributed gold medals among his officers on this occasion, and gave rewards to all the private men, except a few, whom he punished for running away during the assault. Their comrades spat in their faces, and afterward shot them, thus adding ignominy to punishment.

Noteborg was repaired, and its name changed to that of Schlüsselburg, or the "City of the Key," that place being the key to Ingria and Finland. The first governor was that Menshikoff whom we have already mentioned, and who was an excellent officer, and had merited this honor by his gallant behavior during the siege. His example served as an encouragement to all who have merit, without being distinguished by birth.

After this campaign of 1702, the czar resolved that Sheremeto and the officers who had signalized themselves should make a triumphal entry into Moscow on December 17th. All the prisoners taken in this campaign marched in the train of the victors, who had the Swedish colors and standards carried before them, together with the flag of the Swedish frigate taken on Lake Peipus. Peter assisted in the preparations for this triumphal pomp, as he had shared in the great actions it celebrated.

These shows naturally inspired emulation, otherwise they would have been no more than idle ostentation. Charles despised everything of this kind, and, after the battle of Narva, held his enemies, their efforts, and their triumphs, in equal contempt.

CHAPTER XIII.

REFORMATION OF MOSCOW—FURTHER SUCCESSES—FOUNDING OF ST. PETERSBURG—TAKING OF NARVA.

THE short stay which the czar made at Moscow, in the beginning of the winter 1703, was employed in seeing all his new regulations put into execution, and in improving the civil as well as military government. Even his amusements were calculated to inspire his subjects with a taste for the new manner of living which he had introduced. With this in view, he invited all the boyars and principal ladies of Moscow to the marriage of one of his sisters, at which everyone was required to appear dressed after the ancient fashion. A dinner was served in the same manner as in the sixteenth century. By an old superstitious custom, no one was to light a fire on the wedding-day, even in the coldest season. This custom was rigorously observed on this occasion. The Russians formerly never drank wine, but only mead and brandy; no other liquors were permitted on this day, and, when the guests made complaints, he replied, in a joking manner, "This was a custom with your ancestors, and old customs are always the best." This raillery contributed greatly to the reformation of those who preferred past times to the present, at least it put a stop to their murmurings; and there are several nations that stand in need of the like example.

A still more useful institution was that of a printing press for Russian and Latin type, the parts of which were all brought from Holland. They be-

gan by printing translations in Russian of several books of morality and polite literature. Ferguson founded schools for geometry, astronomy, and navigation.

Another institution no less necessary was that of a large hospital, not one of those houses which encourage idleness and perpetuate the misery of the people, but such as the czar had seen at Amsterdam, where old persons and children are employed, and where everyone within the walls is made useful in some way.

He established several manufactures; and as soon as he had introduced those arts into Moscow, he hastened to Voronezh, to give directions for building two ships of eighty guns, each with long cradles or caserns fitted to the ribs of the vessel, to buoy her up, and carry her safely over the shoals and banks of sand that lay about Azov; an ingenious contrivance, similar to that used by the Dutch in Holland, to get their large ships over the Pampus.

Having made all necessary preparations against the Turks, he turned his attention against the Swedes. He went, in March, 1703, to visit the ships that were being built at Olonetz, a town between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, where he had established a foundry for making all kinds of arms; and when everything bore a military aspect, at Moscow flourished all the arts of peace. A spring of mineral water, which had been lately discovered near Olonetz, added to the reputation of that place. From there he proceeded to Schlüsselburg, which he fortified.

We have already observed that Peter was determined to pass regularly through all the military degrees; he had served as lieutenant of bombardeers under Prince Menshikoff, before that favorite was made governor of Schlüsselburg, and now he took the rank of captain, and served under Marshal Sheremeto.

There was an important fortress near Lake Ladoga, and not far from the river Neva, named Nyantz or Nya. It was necessary to make himself master of this place, in order to secure his conquests, and favor his other designs. He therefore undertook to transport a number of small barks, filled with soldiers, and to drive off the Swedish vessels that were bringing supplies, while Sheremeto had the care of the trenches. The citadel surrendered, May 22d, and two Swedish vessels arrived too late to assist the besieged, being attacked and taken by the czar. His journal says, that, as a reward for his service, "The captain of bombardeers was created Knight of the Order of St. Andrew by Admiral Golovin, the first knight of that Order."

After the taking of the fort of Nya, he resolved to build the city of St. Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva, upon the Gulf of Finland.

The affairs of King Augustus were in a desperate state; the victories of the Swedes in Poland had emboldened his enemies, and even his friends had obliged him to dismiss a body of twenty thousand Russians that the czar had sent him to reinforce his army. They thought by this sacrifice to deprive the malcontents of all pretext for joining the king of

Sweden; but enemies are disarmed by force, a show of weakness serving only to make them more insolent. These twenty thousand men that had been disciplined by Patkul proved of infinite service in Livonia and Ingria, while Augustus was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and above all the possession of Nya, enabled the czar to found his new capital.

It was in this barren and marshy spot, which has communication with the mainland by one way only, that Peter laid the foundation of St. Petersburg, in sixty degrees of north latitude and forty-four and a half east longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions of Nya were made use of for the first stones of the foundation. They began by building a small fort on one of the islands, which is now in the centre of the city. The Swedes beheld, without apprehension, a settlement in the midst of a morass, and inaccessible to large vessels; but in a very short time they saw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of Kronstadt, situated over against it, changed, in 1704 into an impregnable fortress, under the cannon of which even the largest fleets may ride in safety.

These works, which seemed to require a time of profound peace, were carried on in the very bosom of war. Workmen of every sort were called together from Moscow, Astrakhan, Kazan, and the Ukraine, to assist in building the new city. Neither the difficulties of the ground, that was to be rendered firm and raised, the distance which the necessary materials must be brought, the unforseen obstacles

which are forever springing up in all great undertakings; nor, lastly, the epidemic disorder which carried off a large number of the workmen, could discourage the royal founder; and in five months a new city arose. It is true, indeed, it was little better than a cluster of huts, with only two brick houses surrounded by ramparts; but this was all that was then necessary. Time and perseverance accomplished the rest. In less than five months after the founding of St. Petersburg a Dutch ship came there to trade, the captain of which was handsomely rewarded, and the Dutch soon found the way to St. Petersburg.

While Peter was directing the establishment of this colony, he took care to provide for its safety by making himself master of the neighboring posts. A Swedish colonel named Croniort had taken post on the river Sestra, and thence threatened the rising city. Peter, on July 8th, marched against him with his two regiments of guards, defeated him, and obliged him to repass the river. Having thus put his town in safety, he repaired to Olonetz, to give directions for building a number of small vessels, and in September returned to St. Petersburg on board a frigate that had been built by his direction, taking with him six transport vessels for present use, till the others could be got ready. Even at this juncture he did not forget his ally, the king of Poland, but in November he sent him a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, and a subsidy in money of three hundred thousand rubles, which make about one million five hundred thousand French livres.

It has been remarked that his annual revenue did not exceed five million rubles; a sum which the expense of his fleets, of his armies, and of his new establishments seemed more than sufficient to exhaust. He had, almost at one and the same time, fortified Novgorod, Pskoff, Kieff, Smolensk, Azov, Archangel, and founded a capital. Notwithstanding all this, he had still a sufficiency left to assist his ally with men and money. Cornelius le Bruine, a Dutchman who was on his travels and at that time in Russia, and with whom he frequently conversed freely, as indeed he did with all strangers, says that the czar assured him that he had still three hundred thousand rubles remaining in his coffers, after all the expenses of the war were defrayed.

In order to put his infant city of St. Petersburg out of danger of insult, he went in person to sound the depth of water thereabouts, fixed on a place for building the fort of Kronstadt; and, after making the model of it in wood with his own hands, he employed Prince Menshikoff to put it in execution. From there he went, in November, to pass the winter at Moscow, in order to establish, by degrees, the several alterations he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of Russia. He regulated the finances and put them on a new footing. He expedited the works that were in progress in Voronezh, at Azov, and in a harbor which he had caused to be made on the Sea of Azov, under the fort of Taganrog.

In January, 1704, the Ottoman Porte, alarmed at these preparations, sent an embassy to the czar, complaining thereof; to which he answered that he was

master in his own dominions, as well as the grand seignior was in Turkey, and that it was no infringement of the peace to render the Russian power respectable on the Euxine Sea.

Upon his return to St. Petersburg in March, finding his new citadel of Kronstadt, which had been founded in the bosom of the sea, completely finished, he furnished it with the necessary artillery, but in order to settle himself firmly in Ingria, and to repair the disgrace he had suffered before Narva, he deemed it necessary to take that city. While he was making preparations for the siege, a small fleet appeared on Lake Peipus to oppose his designs. The Russian half galleys went out to meet them, gave them battle, and took the whole squadron, which had on board ninety-eight pieces of cannon. After this victory, the czar laid siege to Narva by sea and land, and also besieged the city of Derpt in Esthonia at the same time.

Who would have imagined that there was a university in Derpt? Gustavus Adolphus had founded one there, but it did not render that city more famous, Derpt being only known by these two sieges. Peter was continually going from one to the other, forwarding the attacks and directing all the operations. The Swedish general, Slippembac, was in the neighborhood of Derpt with a body of twenty-five hundred men.

The besiegers expected every instant that he would throw reinforcements into the place, but Peter, on this occasion, had recourse to a stratagem worthy of more frequent imitation. He ordered two

regiments of foot and one of horse to be clothed in the same uniform, and to carry the same standards and colors of the Swedes. These sham Swedes attacked the trenches on June 27th, and the Russians pretended to be put to flight; the garrison, deceived by appearances, made a sally, on which the mock combatants joined their forces and fell upon the Swedes, one-half of whom were left dead upon the place and the rest made shift to get back to the town. Slippembac arrived soon after to relieve them, but was totally defeated. At length, on July 23d, Derpt was obliged to capitulate, just as the czar was preparing everything for a general assault.

At the same time Peter met with a check on the side of his new city of St. Petersburg; but this did not prevent him from going on with the work at that place, or from vigorously prosecuting the siege of Narva. It has already been observed that he sent reinforcements and money to King Augustus when his enemies were driving him from his throne; but both these aids proved useless. The Russians having joined the Lithuanians in the interest of Augustus, were totally defeated in Courland by the Swedish general, Löwenhaupt, on July 31st, and had the victors directed their efforts toward Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, they might have destroyed the czar's new works and all the fruits of his great undertakings. Peter was every day sapping the breastworks of Sweden, while Charles seemed to neglect all resistance, for the pursuit of a less advantageous, though a more brilliant fame.

On July 12, 1704, a single Swedish colonel, at the

head of his detachment, obliged the Polish nobility to nominate a new king on the field of election, called Kolo, near the city of Warsaw. The cardinal, primate of the kingdom, and several bishops, submitted to a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the supreme pontiff. In short, everything gave way to force. All the world knows how Stanislaus Leczinsky was elected king, and how Charles XII. obliged the greater part of Poland to acknowledge him.

Peter, however, would not abandon the dethroned king, but redoubled his assistance in proportion to the necessities of his ally; and while his enemy was making kings, he beat the Swedish generals one after another in Esthonia and Ingria, then passed to the siege of Narva and made several vigorous assaults on the town. There were three bastions, famous at least for their names, called Victory, Honor, and Glory. The czar carried them all three sword in hand on August 20. The besiegers forced their way into the town, where they pillaged and exercised all those cruelties which were but too customary at that time between the Swedes and Russians.

Peter here gave an example that should have gained him the affection of all his new subjects. He ran everywhere in person to put a stop to the pillage and slaughter, rescued several women out of the clutches of the brutal soldiery, and, after having with his own hand killed two of those ruffians who had refused to obey his orders, he entered the town-house, whither the citizens had ran in crowds for

shelter, and laying his sword, yet reeking with blood, upon the table, said: "This sword is not stained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that of my own soldiers, which I have spilled to save your lives."

CHAPTER XIV.

PETER THE GREAT KEEPS POSSESSION OF ALL INGRIA, WHILE CHARLES XII. IS TRIUMPHANT IN OTHER PLACES—RISE OF MENSHIKOFF—ST. PETERSBURG SECURED—THE CZAR EXECUTES HIS DESIGNS NOTWITHSTANDING THE VICTORIES OF THE KING OF SWEDEN.

In 1704, Peter, being now master of all Ingria, conferred the government of that province upon Menshikoff; and at the same time gave him the title of prince and the rank of major-general. Pride and prejudice might, in other countries, find means to object to a pastry cook's boy being raised to be a general and governor and to princely dignity; but Peter had already accustomed his subjects to see, without surprise, everything given to merit, and nothing to mere nobility. Menshikoff, by a lucky accident, had, while a boy, been taken from his original obscurity and placed in the czar's family, where he learned several languages and acquired a knowledge of public affairs, both in the cabinet and field; and having found means to ingratiate himself with his master, he afterward knew how to render himself necessary. He greatly forwarded the works

at St. Petersburg, of which he had the direction; several brick and stone houses were already built, with an arsenal and magazines; the fortifications were completed, but the palaces were not built till some time later.

Peter was scarcely settled in Narva, when he offered fresh assistance to the dethroned king of Poland; he promised him a body of troops over and above the twelve thousand men he had already sent him, and actually despatched General Repnin from the frontiers of Lithuania, with six thousand horse, and the same number of foot. But he did not lose sight of his colony of St. Petersburg. The buildings went on rapidly; his navy increased daily; several ships and frigates were on the stocks at Olonetz; these he took care to see finished, and brought them himself into the harbor of St. Petersburg in October.

Each of his returns to Moscow was distinguished by triumphal entries. In this manner did he revisit it in December, whence he made only one excursion, to be present at the launching of his first ship of eighty guns on the Voronezh, which ship he himself had designed the preceding year.

In May, 1705, as soon as the campaign could be opened in Poland, he hastened to the army which he had sent to the assistance of Augustus, on the frontiers of that kingdom; but while he was thus supporting his ally, a Swedish fleet put to sea to destroy St. Petersburg and the fortress of Kronstadt, as yet hardly finished. This fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of war, from fifty-four to sixty-

four guns each, besides six frigates, two bomb-ketches, and two fireships. The troops that were sent on this expedition made a descent on the little island of Kotin; but a Russian colonel, named Tolbogwin, who commanded a regiment there, ordered his soldiers to lie down while the Swedes were landing, and then suddenly rising up, they threw in such a brisk and well-directed fire that the Swedes were put into confusion and forced to retreat with the utmost precipitation to their ships, leaving behind them all their dead and over three hundred prisoners.

However, their fleet still continued hovering about the coast and threatened St. Petersburg. They made another descent and were repulsed as before; land forces were also advancing from Viborg under the command of the Swedish general, Meidel, and took their route by Schlüsselburg; this was the greatest attempt that Charles had yet made upon those territories which Peter had either conquered or formed. The Swedes were everywhere repulsed, and St. Petersburg remained in security.

Peter, on the other hand, advanced toward Courland, with the intention of penetrating as far as Riga. His plan was to make himself master of Livonia, while Charles XII. was busied in reducing the Poles to obedience to the new king he had given them. The czar was still at Vilna in Lithuania, and General Sheremeto was approaching toward Mitau, the capital of Courland; but there he was met by General Löwenhaupt, already famous for several victories, and a pitched battle was fought between

the two armies at a place called Gemavershoff, or Gemavers.

In all those actions, where experience and discipline decide the day, the Swedes, though inferior in number, had the advantage. The Russians were totally defeated, June 28th, and lost all their artillery. Peter, notwithstanding the loss of three battles, viz., at Gemavers, at Jacobstadt, and at Narva, always retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage.

After the battle of Gemavers, he marched his army into Courland; came before Mitau, made himself master of the town, and afterward laid siege to the citadel, which he took by capitulation.

The Russian troops at that time had the reputation of following their successes by rapine and pillage; a custom of too great antiquity in all nations. But Peter, at the taking of Narva, had made such alterations in this custom that the Russian soldiers appointed to guard the vaults where the grand dukes of Courland were buried, in the castle of Mitau, perceiving that the bodies had been taken out of their tombs, and stripped of their ornaments, refused to take possession of their post till a Swedish colonel had been first sent for to inspect the condition of the place, who gave them a certificate that this outrage had been committed by the Swedes themselves.

A rumor which was spread throughout the whole empire that the czar had been totally defeated at the battle of Gemavers, proved of greater prejudice to his affairs than even the loss of that battle. The

remainder of the ancient strelitzes in garrison at Astrakhan, emboldened by this false report, mutinied, and murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to send Marshal Sheremeto with a body of troops to quell the insurrection and punish the mutineers.

Everything seemed now to conspire against the czar: the success and valor of Charles XII.; the misfortunes of Augustus; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the insurrection of the ancient strelitzes; the murmurs of a people, sensible of the restraint, but not of the utility of the late reform; the discontent of the grandees, who found themselves subjected to military discipline; and lastly, the exhausted state of the finances, were sufficient to have discouraged any prince except Peter; but he did not despond, even for an instant. He soon quelled the revolt, and having provided for the safety of Ingria, and secured the possession of the citadel of Mitau, in spite of the victorious Löwenhaupt, who had not troops enough to oppose him, he found himself at liberty to march an army through Samojitia and Lithuania.

He now shared with Charles XII. the glory of giving laws to Poland. He advanced as far as Tykocin, where he had an interview for the second time with King Augustus; when he endeavored to comfort him under his misfortunes, promising to avenge his cause, and at the same time made him a present of some colors which Menshikoff had taken from the troops of his rival. The two monarchs afterward went together to Grodno, the capital of

Lithuania, where they remained till December 15. At their parting Peter gave him both men and money, and then, according to his custom, went to pass part of the winter at Moscow, to encourage the arts and sciences there, as well as to enforce his new laws, after having made a very difficult and laborious campaign.

CHAPTER XV.

WHILE PETER IS STRENGTHENING HIS CONQUESTS, AND IMPROVING THE POLICE OF HIS DOMINIONS, HIS ENEMY, CHARLES XII., GAINS SEVERAL BATTLES; GIVES LAWS TO POLAND AND SAXONY, AND TO AUGUSTUS, NOTWITHSTANDING A VICTORY GAINED BY THE RUSSIANS—AUGUSTUS RESIGNS THE CROWN, AND DELIVERS UP PATKUL, THE CZAR'S AMBASSADOR—MURDER OF PATKUL, WHO IS SENTENCED TO BE BROKEN ON THE WHEEL.

PETER had barely returned to Moscow, in 1706, when he heard that Charles XII., after being everywhere victorious, was advancing toward Grodno, to attack the Russian troops. King Augustus had been obliged to flee from Grodno, and retire with precipitation toward Saxony, with four regiments of Russian dragoons; a step which both weakened and discouraged the army of his protector. Peter found all the roads to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his troops dispersed.

While he was with difficulty assembling his troops in Lithuania, the famous Schulenburg, who

CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN

was the last support Augustus had left, and who afterward gained so much glory by the defence of Corfu against the Turks, was advancing on the side of Great Poland, with about twelve thousand Saxons, and six thousand Russians, taken from the troops with which the czar had intrusted that unfortunate prince. Schulenburg reasonably expected, with just reason, that he would be able to prop the sinking fortunes of Augustus; he perceived that Charles XII. was employed in Lithuania, and that there were only ten thousand Swedes under General Renschild to interrupt his march; he, therefore, advanced with confidence as far as the frontiers of Silesia, which is the passage out of Saxony into Upper Poland. When he came near the village of Fraustadt, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met General Renschild, who was advancing to give him battle.

Whatever care I take to avoid repeating what has been already mentioned in the history of Charles XII., I am obliged in this place to note that there was in the Saxon army a French regiment, that had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Blenheim, and here obliged to serve in the Saxon ranks. My memoirs say that this regiment had charge of the artillery, and add, that the French, struck with the fame and reputation of Charles XII., and discontented with the Saxon service, laid down their arms as soon as they came in sight of the enemy, and desired to be taken into the Swedish army, in which they continued till the end of the war. This defection was as the beginning or signal of a

total overthrow to the Russian army, of which no more than three battalions were saved, and almost every man of these was wounded; and as no quarter was granted, the remainder were cut to pieces.

Norberg, the chaplain, pretends that the Swedish word at this battle was, "In the name of God," and that of the Russians, "Kill all"; but the Swedes killed all in God's name. The czar himself declares, in one of his manifestoes, that a number of Russians, Cossacks, and Kalmucks, that had been made prisoners, were murdered in cold blood three days after that battle. The irregular troops on both sides had accustomed their generals to these cruelties, than which greater were never committed in the most barbarous times. I had the honor to hear King Stanislaus say, that in one of those engagements, which were so frequent in Poland, a Russian officer who had formerly been one of his friends came to put himself under his protection, after the defeat of the corps he commanded; and that the Swedish general, Steinbok, shot him dead with a pistol, while he held him in his arms.

This was the fourth battle the Russians had lost against the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles XII. in Poland. The czar's troops that were in Grodno ran the risk of suffering a still greater disgrace, by being surrounded on all sides; but he fortunately found means to get them together, and even to strengthen them with reinforcements. But being forced to provide at once for the safety of this army, and the security of his conquests in Ingria, he ordered Prince Menshikoff

to march with the army under his command eastward, and from thence southward as far as Kieff.

While his men were on the march, he repaired to Schlüsselburg, then to Narva, and to his colony of St. Petersburg, and put those places in shape for defence. From the Baltic he hastened to the banks of the Boristhenes, to enter into Poland by the way of Kieff, making it still his chief care to render those victories of Charles, which he had not been able to prevent, of as little advantage to the victor as possible. At this very time, he meditated a new conquest; namely, that of Viborg, the capital of Karelia, situated on the Gulf of Finland. He went in season to lay siege to this place, but it withstood the power of his arms; aid arrived in season, and he was obliged to raise the siege. His rival, Charles XII., did not make any conquests, though he gained so many battles; he was at that time in pursuit of King Augustus in Saxony, being always more intent upon humbling that prince, and crushing him beneath the weight of his superior power and reputation, than upon recovering Ingria, which had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

He spread terror through all Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony. King Augustus' whole family, his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal nobility of the country, retired into the heart of the empire. Augustus now sued for peace, choosing to trust himself to the mercy of his conqueror rather than in the arms of his protector. He entered into a treaty which deprived him of the crown of Poland, and covered him with ignominy. This was a

private treaty, and was to be concealed from the czar's generals, with whom he had taken refuge in Poland, while Charles XII. was giving laws in Leipsic, and acting as absolute master throughout his electorate.

His plenipotentiaries had already signed the fatal treaty, on September 14, by which he not only divested himself of the crown of Poland, but promised never more to assume the title of king; at the same time he recognized Stanislaus, renounced his alliance with the czar, his benefactor, and to complete his humiliation, engaged to deliver up to Charles XII., John Reinold Patkul, the czar's ambassador and general in the Russian service, who was then actually fighting his cause. He had some time before ordered Patkul to be arrested on false suspicions, contrary to the law of nations; and now, in direct violation of these laws, he delivered him up to his enemy. It had been better for him to have died sword in hand than to have concluded such a treaty: a treaty which not only robbed him of his crown, and of his reputation; but also endangered his liberty, because he was at that time in the power of Prince Menshikoff in Posnania, and the few Saxons that he had with him were paid by the Russians.

Prince Menshikoff was opposed in that district by a Swedish army, reinforced with a strong party of Poles, in the interest of the new king, Stanislaus, under the command of General Maderfeld; and not knowing that Augustus had entered into a treaty with the enemies of Russia, had proposed to attack

them, and Augustus did not dare to refuse. The battle was fought on October 19, near Kalisz, in the palatinate belonging to Stanislaus; this was the first pitched battle the Russians had gained against the Swedes. Prince Menshikoff had all the glory of the action, four thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, and twenty-six hundred were made prisoners.

It is difficult to comprehend how Augustus could be prevailed on, after this battle, to ratify a treaty which deprived him of all the fruits of his victory. But Charles was still triumphant in Saxony, where his very name spread terror. The success of the Russians appeared so trifling, and the Polish party against Augustus was so strong, and, in fine, that monarch was so ill-advised, that he signed that fatal document. Nor did he stop here; he wrote to his envoy, Finkstein, a letter, that was, if possible, more shameful than the treaty itself; for therein he asked pardon for having obtained a victory, protesting that the battle had been fought against his will; that the Russians and the Poles, his adherents, had obliged him to do it; that he had, with a view of preventing it, actually made some movements to abandon Menshikoff; that Maderfeld might have beaten him, had he made the most of that opportunity; that he was ready to restore all the Swedish prisoners, or to break with the Russians; and that, in fine, he would give the king of Sweden all possible satisfaction for having dared to beat his troops.

This whole affair, unparalleled and inconceivable

as it is, is nevertheless strictly true. When we reflect that, with all this weakness, Augustus was one of the bravest princes in Europe, we may plainly perceive that the loss or preservation, the rise or decline of empires, is entirely owing to fortitude of mind.

Two other circumstances concurred to complete the disgrace of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and heighten the abuse which Charles XII. made of his good fortune; the first was his obliging Augustus to write a letter of congratulation to the new king, Stanislaus, on his election: the second was terrible; he even compelled Augustus to deliver up Patkul, the czar's ambassador and general. It is sufficiently known to all Europe, that this minister was afterward broken alive upon the wheel, in September, 1707. Norberg, the chaplain, confesses that the orders for his execution were all written in Charles's own hand.

There is not a civilian in all Europe, nay, even the vilest slave, but must feel the horror of this barbarous injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate man was his having made a humble representation of the rights and privileges of his country, at the head of six Livonian gentlemen, who were sent as deputies from the whole province; having been condemned to die for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country agreeably to her laws. This iniquitous sentence put him in full possession of a right which all mankind derive from nature, that of choosing his country. Being afterward made ambassador to one of the greatest monarchs in the universe, his person thereby became sa-

cred. On this occasion the law of force violated that of nature and nations. In former ages cruelties of this kind were hidden in the blaze of success, but now they sully the glory of a conqueror.

CHAPTER XVI.

ATTEMPTS MADE TO SET UP A THIRD KING OF POLAND—CHARLES XII. SETS OUT FROM SAXONY WITH A POWERFUL ARMY, AND MARCHES THROUGH POLAND IN A VICTORIOUS MANNER—CRUELTIES COMMITTED—CONDUCT OF THE CZAR—SUCCESSES OF THE KING OF SWEDEN, WHO AT LENGTH ADVANCES TOWARD RUSSIA.

CHARLES XII. enjoyed the fruits of his good fortune in Altranstädt, near Leipsic, whither the Protestant princes of the German Empire repaired in droves to pay homage to him, and implore his protection. He received ambassadors from almost all the potentates of Europe. The emperor Joseph implicitly followed his directions. Peter, perceiving that King Augustus had renounced his protection and his own crown, and that a part of the Polish nation had acknowledged Stanislaus, listened to the proposals made him, by Yolkova, of choosing a third king.

A diet was held at Lublin, in January, 1707, in which several of the palatines were proposed; and among others, Prince Ragotski was put upon the list, that prince who was so long kept in prison

when young by the emperor Leopold, and who afterward, when he procured his liberty, was his competitor for the throne of Hungary.

This negotiation was pushed, and Poland was on the point of having three kings at one time. Prince Ragotski not succeeding, Peter thought to bestow the crown on Simiauski, grand general of the republic, a person of great power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned king nor the person elected by the opposite party.

In the midst of these troubles, there was a talk of peace, as is customary on such occasions. Besseval, the French envoy in Saxony, interposed, in order to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the king of Sweden. It was thought at that time by the court of France, that Charles, having no longer either the Russians or Poles to fight against, might turn his arms against Emperor Joseph, with whom he was not on good terms, and on whom he had even imposed several laws during his stay in Saxony. But Charles answered that he would treat with the czar in Moscow. It was on this occasion that Peter said: "My brother Charles wants to act the Alexander, but he shall not find a Darius in me."

The Russians, however, were still in Poland, and were in the city of Warsaw, while the king whom Charles XII. had set over the Poles was hardly acknowledged by that nation. In the meantime, Charles was enriching his army with the spoils of Saxony.

At length he began his march from Altranstädt, at the head of an army of forty-five thousand men; a force which it seemed impossible for the czar to withstand, seeing he had been entirely defeated by eight thousand at Narva.

It was in passing by the walls of Dresden that Charles made that very extraordinary visit to King Augustus, which, as Norberg says, "will strike posterity with admiration." It was running an unaccountable risk, to put himself in the power of a prince whom he had deprived of his kingdom. From there he continued his march through Silesia, and re-entered Poland.

This country had been ravaged by war, ruined by factions, and was a prey to every kind of calamity. Charles continued advancing with his army through the province of Muscovia, and chose the most difficult ways he could take. The inhabitants, who had taken shelter in the morasses, resolved to make him at least pay for his passage. Six thousand peasants despatched an old man to speak to him: this man, who was of a very extraordinary figure, clad in white, and armed with two carbines, made a speech to Charles; but as the bystanders did not understand what he said, they, without any further ceremony, despatched him in the midst of his harangue, and before their king's face. The peasants, in a rage, immediately withdrew, and took up arms. All who could be found were seized, and obliged to hang one another; the last was compelled to put the rope about his neck himself, and to be his own executioner. All their houses were burned to the

ground. This fact is attested by Norberg, who was an eye-witness, and therefore cannot be contradicted.

Charles, having arrived within a few leagues of Grodno, was informed of the czar's being there in person, with a body of troops; upon which, without staying to deliberate, he took only eight hundred of his guards and set out for Grodno. A German officer, named Mulfels, who commanded a body of troops posted at one of the gates of the town, fancying, when he saw Charles, that he was followed by his whole army, instead of disputing the passage with him, took to flight. The alarm spread through the whole town; everyone imagined the whole Swedish army had already entered; the few Russians who made any resistance were cut to pieces by the Swedish guards; and all the officers assured the czar that the victorious army had made itself master of the place. Hereupon Peter retreated behind the ramparts, and Charles planted a guard of thirty men at the very gate through which the czar had just entered.

In this confusion, some of the Jesuits, whose college had been taken to accommodate the king of Sweden, as being the handsomest structure in the place, went by night to the czar, and for once told the whole truth. Peter immediately returned to the town, and forced the Swedish guards. An engagement ensued in the streets and public places; but at length, the whole Swedish army appearing in sight, the czar was obliged to yield to superior num-

bers, and left the town in the hands of the victor, who made all Poland tremble.

Charles had augmented his forces in Livonia and Finland, and Peter had everything to fear, not only for his conquests on this side, together with those in Lithuania, but also for his ancient territories, and even for the city of Moscow itself. He was obliged to provide at once for the safety of all these different places, at such a distance from each other. Charles could not make any rapid conquests to the east of Lithuania in the depth of winter, and in a marshy country, subject to epidemic disorders, which had been spread by poverty and famine from Warsaw as far as Minsk. Peter posted his troops so as to command the passes of the rivers, guarded all the important posts, and did everything in his power to impede the march of his enemy, and then hastened to put things in proper shape at St. Petersburg.

Though Charles was lording it in Poland, he took nothing from the czar; but Peter, by the use he made of his new fleet, by landing his troops in Finland, by taking and dismantling the town of Borgä, and by seizing booty, was procuring many real and great advantages to himself, and distressing his enemy.

Charles, after being detained a long time in Lithuania by continual rains, at length reached the little river of Beresina, some few leagues from the Boristhenes. Nothing could withstand his activity; he threw a bridge over the river in sight of the Russians; beat a detachment that guarded the passage,

and got to Holozin on the river Bibitsch, where the czar had posted a considerable body of troops to check the impetuous progress of his rival. The little river of Bibitsch is only a small brook in dry weather; but at this time it was swelled by the rains to a deep and rapid stream. On the other side was a morass, behind which the Russians had thrown up an intrenchment for over a quarter of a league, defended by a large and deep ditch, and covered by a parapet, lined with artillery. Nine regiments of horse, and eleven of foot, were advantageously posted in these lines, so that the passage of the river seemed impracticable.

The Swedes, according to the custom of war, got ready their pontoons, and erected batteries to favor their passage; but Charles, whose impatience to engage would not let him brook the least delay, did not wait till the pontoons were ready. Marshal Schwerin, who served a long time under him, has assured me several times, that one day when preparing for action, observing his generals to be very busy in concerting the necessary dispositions, said tartly to them: "When will you have done with this trifling?" and immediately advanced in person at the head of his guards, which he did particularly on this memorable day.

He flung himself into the river, followed by his regiment of guards. Their numbers broke the impetuosity of the current, but the water was as high as their shoulders, and they could make no use of their firelocks. Had the artillery of the parapet been but tolerably well served, or had the infantry

but levelled their pieces in a proper manner, not a single Swede would have escaped.

The king, after fording the river, passed the morass on foot. As soon as the army had surmounted these obstacles within sight of the Russians, they drew up in order of battle, and attacked the enemy's intrenchments seven different times, and it was not till the seventh attack that the Russians gave way. By the accounts of their own historians, the Swedes took but twelve field-pieces, and twenty-four mortars.

It was therefore evident, that the czar had at length succeeded in disciplining his troops, and this victory of Holozin, while it covered Charles XII. with glory, might have made him sensible of the many dangers he must encounter in venturing into such distant countries, where his army could march only in small bodies, through woods, morasses, and where he would be obliged to fight every step of his way; but the Swedes, being accustomed to carry all before them, dreaded neither danger nor fatigue.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHARLES XII. CROSSES THE BORISTHENES, PENETRATES INTO THE UKRAINE, BUT CONCERTS HIS MEASURES BADLY—ONE OF HIS ARMIES IS DEFEATED BY PETER THE GREAT—HE LOSES HIS SUPPLY OF PROVISIONS AND AMMUNITION—ADVANCES THROUGH A DESERT COUNTRY—HIS ADVENTURES IN THE UKRAINE.

In 1708, Charles arrived on the borders of the Boristhenes, at a small town called Mohileff. This

was the important spot where he was to decide whether he should direct his march eastward toward Moscow, or southward toward the Ukraine. His own army, his friends, his enemies, all expected that he would direct his course immediately for the capital of Russia. Whichever way he took, Peter was following him from Smolensk with a strong army; no one expected that he would turn toward the Ukraine. He was induced to take this strange resolution by Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, who, being an old man of seventy, and without children, should have thought only of ending his days in peace: gratitude should have bound him to the czar, to whom he was indebted for his present dignity; but whether he had any real cause of complaint against that prince or was dazzled with the lustre of Charles's exploits, or whether, in time, he thought to make himself independent, he betrayed his benefactor, and privately espoused the interests of the king of Sweden, flattering himself with the hope of engaging his whole nation in rebellion with himself.

Charles had not the least doubt of subduing the Russian Empire, as soon as his troops should be joined by so warlike a people as the Cossacks. Mazeppa was to furnish him with what provisions, ammunition, and artillery he should want; besides, he was to be joined by an army of some seventeen thousand men out of Livonia, under the command of General Löwenhaupt, who was to bring with him a vast quantity of warlike stores and provisions. Charles did not stop to think whether the czar was within reach of attacking his army, and depriving

him of these necessary supplies. He never informed himself whether Mazeppa was in a condition to observe his promises; if that Cossack had power enough to change the disposition of a whole nation, who are generally guided only by their own opinion; or whether his army was provided with sufficient resources in case of an accident; but imagined, if Mazeppa should prove deficient in abilities or fidelity, he could trust to his own valor and good fortune. The Swedish army then advanced beyond the Boristhenes toward the Desna: it was between these two rivers that he expected to meet Mazeppa. His march was attended with many difficulties and dangers, on account of the road, and the many parties of Russians that were hovering about.

Menshikoff, at the head of some horse and foot, attacked the king's advanced guard, on September 11th, threw them into disorder, and killed a number of his men. He lost a greater number of his own, indeed, but that did not discourage him. Charles immediately hastened to the field of battle, and with some difficulty repulsed the Russians, at the hazard of his own life, by engaging a party of dragoons, by whom he was surrounded. All this while Mazeppa did not appear, and provisions began to grow scarce. The Swedish soldiers, seeing their king share in all their dangers, fatigues, and wants, were not dispirited; but though they admired his courage, they could not refrain from murmuring at his conduct.

The orders which the king had sent to Löwenhaupt to march forward with all haste, to join him

with the necessary supplies, were delivered twelve days later than they should have been. This was a long delay as circumstances then stood. However, Löwenhaupt at length began his march. Peter suffered him to pass the Boristhenes; but as soon as his army was between that river and its tributaries, he crossed after him, and attacked him with his united forces, which had followed in different corps at equal distances from one another. This battle was fought between the Boristhenes and the Sossa.

Prince Menshikoff was upon his return with the same body of horse with which he had lately engaged Charles XII. General Baur followed him, and the czar himself headed the flower of his army. The Swedes imagined they had to deal with an army of forty thousand men, and the same was believed for a long time on the faith of their relation: but my late memoirs inform me that Peter had only twenty thousand men in this day's engagement, a number not much greater than that of the enemy: but his vigor, his patience, his unwearied perseverance, together with that of his troops, animated by his presence, decided the fate, not of that day only, but of three successive days, during which the fight was renewed at different times.

They made their first attack upon the rear of the Swedish army, near the village of Lesna, from which this battle takes its name. This first shock was bloody, without proving decisive. Löwenhaupt retreated into a wood, and thereby saved his baggage. The next morning, when the Swedes were to be driven from this wood, the fight was still more

bloody, and more to the advantage of the Russians. Here it was that the czar, seeing his troops in disorder, cried out to fire upon the runaways, and even upon himself, if they saw him turn back. The Swedes were repulsed, but not thrown into confusion.

At length a reinforcement of four thousand dragoons arriving, he fell upon the Swedes a third time, who retreated to a small town called Prospock, where they were again attacked; they then marched toward the Desna, the Russians still pursuing them; yet they were never broken, but lost over eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of cannon, and forty-four colors: the czar took fifty-six officers, and nearly nine hundred privates prisoners, and the great convoy of provisions and ammunition that was going to Charles's army fell into the hands of the conqueror.

This was the first time that the czar in person gained a pitched battle against an enemy who had distinguished himself by so many victories over his troops. He was employed in a general thanksgiving for his success, when he received advice that General Apraxin had lately gained an advantage over the enemy in Ingria, some leagues from Narva, an advantage less considerable, indeed, than that of Lesna; but this concurrence of fortunate events greatly raised the hopes and courage of his troops.

Charles XII. heard of these unfortunate tidings, just as he was ready to pass the Desna in the Ukraine. Mazeppa at length joined him; but instead of twenty thousand men, and an immense

quantity of provisions, which he was to have brought with him, he came with only two regiments, and appeared rather like a fugitive applying for assistance than a prince bringing aid to his ally. This Cossack had indeed begun his march with about fifteen or sixteen thousand of his people, whom he had told at their first setting out, that they were going against the king of Sweden; that they would have the glory of stopping that hero on his march, and that he would hold himself eternally obliged to them for so great a service.

But when they came within a few leagues of the Desna, he made them acquainted with his real design. These brave people received his declaration with disdain: they refused to betray a monarch against whom they had no cause of complaint, for the sake of a Swede who had invaded their country with an armed force, and who, after leaving it, would be no longer able to defend them, but must abandon them to the incensed Russians and the Poles, once their masters and always their enemies; they accordingly returned home, and notified the czar of the defection of their chief; Mazeppa found himself left with only two regiments, the officers of which were in his own pay.

He was still master of some strong posts in the Ukraine, and in particular of Baturin, the place of his residence, regarded as the capital of the country of the Cossacks; it is situated near some forests on the Desna, at a great distance from the place where Peter had defeated General Löwenhaupt. There were always some Russian regiments quartered in

these districts. Prince Menshikoff was detached from the czar's army, and got there by roundabout marches. Charles could not secure all the passes; he did not even know them all, and had neglected to make himself master of the important post of Starodub, which leads directly to Baturin, across seven or eight leagues of forest, through which the Desna runs. His enemy had always the advantage of him, by being better acquainted with the country.

Menshikoff and Prince Golitzin, who had accompanied him, easily made their passage good, and presented themselves before the town of Baturin, on November 14th; it surrendered almost without resistance, was plundered and reduced to ashes. The Russians made themselves masters of a large magazine destined for the use of the king of Sweden, and of all Mazeppa's treasures. The Cossacks chose another hetman, named Skoropasky, who was approved by the czar, who, being willing to impress a due sense of the enormous crime of treason on the minds of the people, by a striking example of justice, ordered the archbishop of Kieff and two prelates to excommunicate Mazeppa publicly; after which he was hanged in effigy, and some of his accomplices were broken on the wheel.

Meanwhile, Charles XII., still at the head of about twenty-seven thousand Swedes, who were reinforced by the remains of Löwenhaupt's army, and the addition of some three thousand men whom Mazeppa had brought with him, and still infatuated with the notion of making all the Ukraine declare for him, passed the Desna, at some distance from

Baturin, and near the Boristhenes, in spite of the czar's troops which surrounded him; part of whom followed close in the rear, while another part lined the opposite side of the river to oppose his passage.

He continued his march through a desert country, where he met with nothing but burned or ruined villages. The cold began to set in at the beginning of December so extremely sharp that in one of his marches nearly two thousand of his men perished before his eyes; the czar's troops did not suffer nearly so much, being better supplied; whereas the king of Sweden's army, being almost naked, was necessarily more exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

In this deplorable situation, Count Piper, chancellor of Sweden, who never gave his master other than good advice, conjured him to halt, and pass at least the severest part of the winter in a small town of the Ukraine, called Romna, where he might intrench himself, and get some provisions by the help of Mazeppa; but Charles replied, that he was not a person to shut himself up in a town. Piper then entreated him to repass the Desna and the Boristhenes, to return to Poland, to put his troops into winter quarters, of which they stood so much in need, to make use of the Polish cavalry, which was absolutely necessary; to support the king he had nominated, and to keep in awe the partisans of Augustus, who began already to bestir themselves. Charles answered him again, that this would be flying before the czar, that the season would grow

milder, and that he must reduce the Ukraine, and march on to Moscow.

Both armies remained some weeks inactive, on account of the intenseness of the cold, January, 1709; but, as soon as the men were able to make use of their arms, Charles attacked all the small posts that he found in his way; he was obliged to send parties on every side in search of provisions; that is to say, to scour the country twenty leagues round, and rob all the peasants of their necessary subsistence. Peter, without hastening, kept a strict eye upon all his motions, and suffered the Swedish army to dwindle away by degrees.

It is impossible for the reader to follow the Swedes in their march through these countries; several of the rivers which they crossed are not to be found on the maps: we must not suppose, that geographers are as well acquainted with these countries as we are with Italy, France, and Germany; geography is, of all the arts, that which still stands the most in need of improvement: and ambition has hitherto been at more pains to desolate the face of the globe, than to give a description of it.

We must content ourselves, then, with knowing, that Charles traversed the whole Ukraine in the month of February, burning the villages wherever he went, or meeting with others that had been laid in ashes by the Russians. He, advancing south-east, came to those sandy deserts, bordered by mountains that separate the Nogay Tartars from the Don Cossacks. To the eastward of those mountains are

the altars of Alexander. Charles was now on the other side of the Ukraine, on the road that the Tartars take to Russia, but he was obliged to return again to procure subsistence: the inhabitants, having retired with all their cattle into their dens and lurking places would sometimes defend their subsistence against the soldiers, who came to deprive them of it. Such of these poor wretches as could be found, were put to death, agreeable to what are falsely called the rules of war. I cannot here forbear transcribing a few lines from Norberg. "As an instance of the king's regard to justice, I shall insert a note which he wrote with his own hand to Colonel Heilmen:

" 'Colonel: I am very well pleased that you have taken these peasants, who carried off a Swedish soldier; as soon as they are convicted of the crime, let them be punished with death, according to the exigency of the case. CHARLES BUDIS.' "

Such are the sentiments of justice and humanity displayed by a king's confessor; but had the peasants of the Ukraine had it in their power to hang some of those regimented peasants of East Gothland, who thought themselves entitled to come so far to plunder them, their wives, and families, of their subsistence, would not the confessors and chaplains of these Ukrainers have had equal reason to applaud their justice?

Mazeppa had, for some time, been in treaty with the Zaporavians, who dwell on the shores of the Boristhenes and the islands in that river. It is this division that forms the nation of whom mention has al-

ready been made in the first chapter of this history, and who have neither wives nor families, and subsist entirely by rapine. During the winter they heap up provisions in their islands, which they afterward go and sell in the summer, in the little town of Poltava; the rest dwell in small hamlets, to the right and left of this river. They choose a particular hetman, and this hetman is subordinate to the hetman of the Ukraine. The head of the Zaporavians came to meet Mazeppa; and these two barbarians had an interview, at which each had a horse's tail, and a club borne before him, as ensigns of honor.

To show what this hetman of the Zaporavians, and his people were, I think it not unworthy of history to relate the manner in which this treaty was concluded. Mazeppa gave a great feast to the hetman of the Zaporavians and his principal officers. As soon as these chiefs had made themselves drunk with brandy, they took an oath—without stirring from table—upon the Evangelists, to supply Charles with men and provisions; after which they carried off all the plate and other table-furniture. Mazeppa's steward ran after them, and remonstrated that such behavior did not agree with the doctrine of the Gospels on which they had so lately sworn. Some of Mazeppa's domestics were for taking the plate away from them by force; but the Zaporavians went in a body to complain to Mazeppa, of the unparalleled affront offered to such brave fellows, and demanded to have the steward delivered up to them that they might punish him according to law. This was accordingly complied with, and the Zaporavians,

according to law, tossed this poor man from one to another like a ball, and afterward plunged a knife to his heart.

Such were the new allies that Charles XII. was obliged to receive, part of whom he formed into a regiment of two thousand men; the remainder marched in separate bodies against the Cossacks and Kalmucks of the czar's party that were stationed about that district.

The little town of Poltava, with which those Zaporavians carry on a trade, was filled with provisions, and might have served Charles for a place of arms. It is situated on the river Vorskla, near a chain of mountains which command it on the north side. To the eastward is a vast desert. The western part is the most fruitful, and the best peopled. The Vorskla empties into the Boristhenes about fifteen leagues lower down; from Poltava, one may go northward, through the defiles which communicate with the road to Moscow, a passage used by the Tartars. It is very difficult of access, and the precautions taken by the czar had rendered it almost impenetrable; but nothing appeared impossible to Charles, and he depended upon marching to Moscow, as soon as he had made himself master of Poltava; with this in view he laid siege to that town in the beginning of May.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BATTLE OF POLTAVA.

HERE it was that Peter expected him; he had disposed the several divisions of his army at convenient distances for joining each other, and marching all together against the besiegers; he had visited the countries surrounding the Ukraine; namely, the duchy of Severia, watered by the Desna, already made famous by his victory; the country of Bolcho, in which the Occa has its source; the deserts and mountains leading to the Sea of Azov; and lately he had been in the neighborhood of Azov, where he caused that harbor to be cleansed, new ships to be built, and the citadel of Taganrog to be repaired. Thus did he employ the time that passed between the battles of Lesna and Poltava, in preparing for the defence of his dominions. As soon as he heard that the Swedes had laid siege to the town, he mustered all his forces; the horse, dragoons, infantry, Cossacks, and Kalmucks, advanced from different quarters. His army was well provided with necessaries of every kind; large cannon, field-pieces, ammunition of all sorts, provisions, and even medicines for the sick: this was another point of superiority he had over his rival.

On June 15, 1709, he appeared before Poltava with an army of about sixty thousand effective men; the river Vorskla was between him and Charles. The besiegers were encamped on the northwest side of that river, the Russians on the southeast.

Peter ascended the river above the town, fixed

his barges, marched over with his army, and drew a long line of intrenchments, which were begun and completed in one night, July 3d, in the face of the enemy. Charles might then judge whether the person whom he had so much despised, and whom he thought of dethroning at Moscow, understood the art of war. This disposition being made, Peter posted his cavalry between two woods, and covered it with several redoubts, lined with artillery. Having thus taken all the necessary measures, he went to reconnoitre the enemy's camp in order to form the attack.

This battle was to decide the fate of Russia, Poland, and Sweden, and of two monarchs, on whom the eyes of all Europe were fixed. The majority of the nations who were attentive to these important concerns were equally ignorant of the place where these two princes were, and of their situation: but knowing that Charles XII. had set out from Saxony, at the head of a victorious army, and that he was driving the enemy everywhere before him, they no longer doubted that he would at length entirely crush him; and that as he had already given laws to Denmark, Poland, and Germany, he would now dictate conditions of peace in the Kremlin of Moscow, and make a new czar, after having already made a new king of Poland. I have seen letters from several public ministers to their respective courts, confirming this general opinion.

The risk was far from being equal between these two great rivals. If Charles lost his life, which he had so often and so wantonly exposed, there would

after all have been but one hero less in the world. The provinces of the Ukraine, the frontiers of Lithuania and of Russia, would then rest from their calamities, and a stop would be put to the general devastation which had so long been their scourge. Poland would, together with her tranquillity, recover her lawful prince, who had been reconciled to the czar, his benefactor; and lastly, Sweden, though exhausted of men and money, might find sources of consolation under her heavy losses.

But if the czar perished, those immense labors which had been of such utility to mankind, would perish with him, and the most extensive empire in the world would again relapse into the chaos from which it had been so lately taken.

There had already been some skirmishes between the detached parties of the Swedes and Russians, under the walls of the town. In one of these encounters, on June 27th, Charles had been wounded by a musket-ball, which had shattered the bones of his foot; he underwent several painful operations, which he bore with his usual fortitude, and had been confined to his bed for some days. In this condition he was informed that Peter intended to give him battle; his notions of honor would not suffer him to wait to be attacked in his intrenchments. Accordingly he gave orders for quitting them, and was himself carried in a litter. Peter the Great acknowledged that the Swedes attacked the redoubts, lined with artillery, that covered his cavalry, with such obstinate valor, that, notwithstanding the strongest resistance, supported by a continual fire, the enemy

made themselves masters of two redoubts. Some writers say that, when the Swedish infantry found themselves in possession of the two redoubts, they thought the day their own, and began to cry out "Victory." The chaplain Norberg, who was at some distance from the field of battle, among the baggage, pretends that this was a calumny; but whether the Swedes cried out "victory" or not, it is certain they were not victorious. The fire from the other redoubts was kept up without ceasing, and the resistance made by the Russians in every part was as firm as the attack of their enemies was vigorous. They did not make one irregular movement; the czar drew up his army without the intrenchments in excellent order, and with surprising despatch.

The battle now became general. Peter acted as major-general; Baur commanded the right wing, Menshikoff the left, and Sheremeto the centre. The action lasted two hours; Charles, with a pistol in his hand, went from rank to rank, carried in a litter, on the shoulders of his drabans; one of whom was killed by a cannon-ball, and at the same time the litter was shattered. He then ordered his men to carry him upon their pikes; for it would have been difficult in so smart an action, let Norberg say as he pleases, to find a litter ready-made. Peter received several balls through his clothes and his hat; both princes were continually in the midst of the fire, during the whole action. At length, after two hours' desperate engagement, the Swedes were taken on all sides, and fell into confusion, so that Charles was obliged to fly before him whom he had hitherto held

in so much contempt. This very hero, who could not mount his saddle during the battle, now fled for his life on horseback; necessity lent him strength in his retreat; he suffered the most excruciating pain, which was increased by the mortifying reflection of being vanquished without resource. The Russians reckoned nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four Swedes left dead on the field of battle, and between two and three thousand made prisoners in the action, mostly cavalry.

Charles XII. fled with the greatest precipitation, with forty thousand men, a few field-pieces, and a very small quantity of provisions and ammunition. He directed his march southward, toward the Boristhenes, between the two rivers Vorskla and Psiol, in the country of the Zaporavians. Beyond the Boristhenes, are vast deserts, which lead to the frontiers of Turkey. Norberg affirms that the victors dared not pursue Charles; and yet he acknowledges that Prince Menshikoff appeared on the neighboring heights, with ten thousand horse, and a considerable train of artillery, while the king was passing the Boristhenes.

Fourteen thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war to these ten thousand Russians; and Löwenhaupt, who commanded them, signed the fatal capitulation, by which he gave up those Zaporavians who had engaged in the service of his master, and were then in the fugitive army. The chief persons taken prisoners in the battle, and by the capitulation, were Count Piper, the first minister, with two secretaries of state, and two of the

cabinet, Field-Marshal Renschild, Generals Löwenhaupt, Slippembac, Rozen, Stakelber, Creutz, and Hamilton, with three general aides-de-camp, the auditor-general of the army, fifty-nine staff officers, five colonels, among whom was the prince of Würtemberg, sixteen thousand nine hundred and forty-two privates and non-commissioned officers; in short, reckoning the king's own domestics and others, the conqueror had no less than eighteen thousand seven hundred and forty-six prisoners in his power; if we add nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four slain in battle, and nearly two thousand men that passed the Boristhenes with Charles, it appears plainly that he had, on that memorable day, no less than twenty-seven thousand effective men under his command.

Charles had begun his march from Saxony with forty-five thousand men, Löwenhaupt had brought over sixteen thousand out of Livonia, and yet scarcely a handful of men were left of all this powerful army; of a numerous train of artillery, part lost in his marches and part buried in the morasses, he had now remaining only eighteen brass cannon, two howitzers, and twelve mortars, and with a weak force he had undertaken the siege of Poltava, and had attacked an army provided with formidable artillery. Therefore he is, with justice, accused of having shown more courage than prudence, after his leaving Germany. On the side of the Russians, there were no more than fifty-two officers, and one thousand two hundred and ninety-three privates killed; an undeniable proof that the disposition of

the Russian troops was better than that of Charles, and that their fire was superior to that of the Swedes.

We find, in the memoirs of a foreign minister to the court of Russia, that Peter being informed of Charles's design to take refuge in Turkey, wrote a friendly letter to him, entreating him not to take so desperate a resolution, but to trust himself in his hands, rather than in those of the natural enemy to all Christian princes. He gave him, at the same time, his word of honor not to detain him prisoner, but to terminate all their differences by a reasonable peace. This letter was sent by an express as far as the river Bug, which separates the deserts of the Ukraine from the grand seignior's dominions. As the messenger did not reach that place till Charles had entered Turkey, he brought back the letter to his master. The same minister adds further, that he had this account from the very person who was charged with the letter. This anecdote is not altogether improbable, but I do not meet with it either in Peter's journals or in any of the papers intrusted to my care. What is of greater importance in relation to this battle was its being the only one of the many that have stained the earth with blood, that instead of producing only destruction, has proved beneficial to mankind, by enabling the czar to civilize so considerable a part of the world.

There have been more than two hundred pitched battles fought in Europe from the commencement of this century, to the present year. The most signal, and the most bloody victories, have produced no

other consequences than the reduction of a few provinces, ceded afterward by treaties, and retaken again by other battles. Armies of a hundred thousand men have frequently engaged each other in the field; but the greatest efforts have been attended only by slight and momentary successes; the most trivial causes have been productive of the greatest effects. There is no instance in modern history of any war productive of good that has compensated for the many evils it has occasioned; but, from the battle of Poltava, the greatest empire under the sun has derived its present happiness and prosperity.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF POLTAVA—CHARLES XII. TAKES REFUGE AMONG THE TURKS—AUGUSTUS, WHOM HE HAD DETHRONED, RECOVERS HIS DOMINIONS—CONQUESTS OF PETER THE GREAT.

THE chief prisoners were presented to the conqueror, who ordered their swords to be returned, and invited them to dinner. It is a well-known fact that, on drinking to the officers, he said, "To the health of my masters in the art of war." However, most of his masters, particularly the subaltern officers and all the privates, were soon afterward sent into Siberia. There was no cartel established here for exchange of prisoners between the Russians and Swedes; the czar, indeed, had proposed one before

the siege of Poltava, but Charles rejected the offer, and his troops were in everything the victims of his inflexible pride.

It was this unseasonable obstinacy that occasioned all the misfortunes of this prince in Turkey, and a series of adventures more becoming a hero of romance than a wise or prudent king; for as soon as he arrived at Bender, he was advised to write to the grand vizier, as is the custom among the Turks; but this he thought would be demeaning himself too far. Similar obstinacy embroiled him with all the ministers of the Porte one after another; in short, he knew not how to accommodate himself either to times or circumstances.

The first news of the battle of Poltava produced a general revolution in minds and affairs in Poland, Saxony, Sweden, and Silesia. Charles, while all-powerful in those parts, had obliged the emperor Joseph to take a hundred and five churches from the Catholics in favor of the Silesians of the Confession of Augsburg. The Catholics no sooner received news of the defeat of Charles than they repossessed themselves of all the Lutheran temples. The Saxons now thought of nothing but being revenged for the extortions of a conqueror who had robbed them, according to their own account, of twenty-three millions of crowns.

The king of Poland, their elector, immediately protested against the abdication that had been extorted from him, and being now reconciled to the czar, he left no stone unturned to reascend the Polish throne. Sweden, overwhelmed with consterna-

tion, thought her king for a long time dead, and in this uncertainty the senate knew not how to act.

Peter in the meantime determined to make the best use of his victory, and therefore despatched Marshal Sheremeto with an army into Livonia, on the frontiers of which province that general had so often signalized himself. Prince Menshikoff was sent in haste with a numerous body of cavalry to second the few troops left in Poland, to encourage the nobles who were in the interest of Augustus, to drive out his competitor, who was now considered as no better than a rebel, and to disperse a body of Swedes and troops that were still left in that kingdom under the command of General Crassau.

The czar soon after set out in person, marched through the province of Kieff, and the palatinates of Chelm and Upper Volhynia, and at length arrived at Lublin, where he concerted measures with the general of Lithuania. He then reviewed the crown troops, who all took the oath of allegiance to King Augustus; thence he proceeded to Warsaw, and at Thorn, on September 18th, enjoyed the most glorious of all triumphs, that of receiving the thanks of a king whom he had reinstated in his dominions. There it was, on October 7th, that he concluded a treaty against Sweden, with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia; in which it was resolved to recover from Charles all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, Karelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania, and the king of Prussia to Pomerania.

Thus Charles XII., by his unsuccessful valor, shook the noble edifice that had been erected by his ancestor, Gustavus Adolphus. The Polish nobility came in on all sides to renew their oaths to their king, or to ask pardon for having defeated him; and almost the whole kingdom acknowledged Peter for its protector.

To the victorious arms of the czar, to these new treaties, and to this sudden revolution, Stanislaus had nothing to oppose but a voluntary resignation; he published a writing called *"Universale,"* in which he declared himself ready to resign the crown, if the republic required it.

Peter having concerted all the necessary measures with the king of Poland, and rectified the treaty with Denmark, set out to finish his negotiation with the king of Prussia. It was not then usual for sovereign princes to perform the function of their own ambassadors. Peter was the first to introduce this custom, which has been followed by very few. The elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia, had a conference with the czar, at Marienwerder, a small town situated in the western part of Pomerania, and built by the old Teutonic knights, and included in the limits of Prussia, lately erected into a kingdom. This country indeed was poor and small; but its new king, whenever he travelled, displayed the utmost magnificence; with great splendor he had received Czar Peter on his first trip through his dominions, when that prince quitted his empire to go in search of instruction among strangers. But he received the conqueror of Charles XII. in a still

more pompous manner. Peter concluded only a defensive treaty with him, which afterward, however, completed the ruin of Sweden.

Not an instant was lost. Peter having proceeded with the greatest despatch in his negotiations, which elsewhere are wont to take up so much time, joined his army then before Riga, the capital of Livonia; he began by bombarding the place, and fired the first three bombs himself; then changed the siege into a blockade, and when well assured that Riga could not escape him, he repaired to St. Petersburg, to inspect and forward the works under way there, the new buildings, and the finishing of his fleet; and having laid the keel of a ship of fifty-four guns, with his own hands, he returned to Moscow on December 3d. Here he amused himself with assisting in the preparations for the triumphal entry, which he exhibited in that capital. He directed everything relating to that festival, and was the principal contriver and architect.

He opened the year 1710 with this solemnity, so necessary to his subjects, whom it inspired with notions of grandeur; and it was highly pleasing to everyone who had been fearful of seeing those over whom they now triumphed enter their walls as conquerors. Seven magnificent arches were erected, under which passed in triumph the artillery, standards, and colors, taken from the enemy, with their officers, generals, and ministers, who had been made prisoners, all on foot, amid the ringing of bells, the sound of trumpets, the discharge of a hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of an innumerable

concourse of people, whose voices rent the air as soon as the cannon ceased firing. The procession was closed by the victorious army, with the generals at its head; and Peter, who marched in his rank of major-general. At each triumphal arch stood the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the last was a chosen band of young gentlemen, the sons of boyars, clad in Roman habits, who presented a crown of laurel to their victorious monarch.

This public festival was followed by another ceremony, which proved no less satisfactory than the former. In the year 1708 occurred a disagreeable accident, the more disagreeable to Peter as his arms were at that time unsuccessful. Mattheof, his ambassador to the court of London, having had his audience of leave with Queen Anne, was arrested for debt at the suit of some English merchants, and carried before a justice of the peace to give security for the debts he owed there. The merchants insisted that the laws of commerce should prevail before the privileges of foreign ministers; the czar's ambassador, and with him all the public ministers, protested against this proceeding, alleging that their persons should be always inviolable. The czar wrote to Queen Anne demanding satisfaction for the insult offered him in the person of his ambassador.

But the queen was unable to gratify him, because, by the laws of England, tradesmen were allowed to prosecute their debtors, and there was no law that excepted ministers of state from such prosecution. The murder of Patkul, the czar's ambassador, who

had been executed the year before by the orders of Charles XII., had encouraged the English to show so little regard to a character which had been so cruelly profaned. The other public ministers who were then at the court of London, were obliged to be bound for the czar's ambassador; and all the queen could do in his favor was to prevail on her parliament to pass an act, by which no one for the future could arrest an ambassador for debt; but after the battle of Poltava the English court thought proper to give satisfaction to the czar.

The queen, by a formal embassy, apologized for what had passed. Mr. Whitworth, the person charged with this commission, began his harangue with the following words: "Most high and mighty emperor." He told the czar that the person who had presumed to arrest his ambassador had been imprisoned and rendered infamous. There was no truth in this, but it was sufficient that he said so, and the title of emperor, which the queen had not given Peter before the battle of Poltava, plainly showed the consideration he had now acquired in Europe.

This title had been already granted him in Holland, not only by those who had been his fellow-workmen in the dockyards at Saardam, and seemed to interest themselves most in his glory, but also by the principal persons in the state, who unanimously styled him emperor, and made public rejoicings for his victory, even in the presence of the Swedish minister.

The universal reputation which he had acquired by his victory of Poltava, was still further increased

by his not suffering a moment to pass without taking some advantage of it. In the first place, he laid siege to Elbing, a Hanse Town of Prussia in Poland, where the Swedes had still a garrison. The Russians scaled the walls, entered the town, and the garrison surrendered on March 11th. This was one of the largest magazines belonging to Charles XII. The conquerors found therein one hundred and eighty-three brass cannon, and one hundred and fifty-seven mortars. Immediately after the reduction of Elbing, Peter marched from Moscow to St. Petersburg; as soon as he arrived at this latter place, he took shipping under his new fortress of Kronstadt, coasted along the shore of Karelia, and notwithstanding a violent storm, brought his fleet safely before Viborg, the capital of Karelia in Finland, while his land forces advanced over the frozen morasses, and in a short time the capital of Livonia was closely blockaded. After a breach was made in the walls, Viborg surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, capitulated, but did not receive the honors of war, being made prisoners notwithstanding the capitulation. Peter charged the enemy with several infractions of this kind, and promised to set these troops at liberty, as soon as he should receive satisfaction from the Swedes for his complaints. On this occasion the king of Sweden was to be consulted, who continued as inflexible as ever; and those soldiers, whom, by a little concession, he might have delivered from their confinement, remained in captivity. Thus did King William III., in 1695, arrest Marshal Bou-

fiers, notwithstanding the capitulation of Namur. There have been several instances of such violations of treaties; but it is to be wished there never had been any.

After the taking of this capital, the blockade of Riga was changed into a regular siege, and pushed with vigor. They were obliged to break the ice on the river Dwina, which waters the walls of the city. An epidemic which had raged for some time in those parts, now got among the besiegers, and carried off nine thousand; nevertheless, the siege was not in the least slackened; it lasted a considerable time, but the garrison capitulated on July 15th, and were allowed the honors of war; but it was stipulated by the capitulation, that all the Livonian officers and soldiers should enter into the Russian service, as natives of a country that had been dismembered from that empire, and usurped by the ancestors of Charles XII. But the Livonians were restored to the privileges of which his father had stripped them, and all the officers entered into the czar's service: this was the most noble satisfaction that Peter could take for the murder of his ambassador, Patkul, a Livonian, who had been put to death for defending those privileges. The garrison consisted of nearly five thousand men. A short time afterward the citadel of Pennamund was taken, and the besiegers found in the town and fort over eight hundred pieces of artillery of different kinds.

Nothing was now lacking to make Peter master of the province of Karelia but the possession of the strong town of Kexholm, built on an island in Lake

Ladoga, and deemed impregnable: it was bombarded and surrendered on September 19th. The island of Oesel in the Baltic, bordering on the north of Livonia, was subdued with the same rapidity.

On the side of Esthonia, a province of Livonia, toward the north, and on the Gulf of Finland, are the towns of Pernau and Revel; by the reduction of these Peter completed the conquest of Livonia. Pernau surrendered after a siege of a few days, and Revel capitulated without waiting to have a single cannon fired against it; but the besieged found means to escape out of the hands of the conquerors, at the very time that they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war: for some Swedish ships having anchored in the roadstead, under cover of the night, the garrison and most of the citizens embarked, and when the besiegers entered the town, they were surprised to find it deserted. When Charles XII. gained the victory of Narva, little did he expect that his troops would one day be driven to use such artifices.

In Poland, Stanislaus finding his party ruined, had taken refuge in Pomerania, which still belonged to Charles XII. Augustus resumed the government, and it was difficult to decide who had acquired more glory, Charles in dethroning him, or Peter in restoring him to his crown.

The subjects of the king of Sweden were still more unfortunate than their monarch. The contagious distemper which had made such havoc over Livonia passed into Sweden; and in the city of Stockholm, it carried off thirty thousand persons:

it desolated the provinces, already thinned of their inhabitants; for during the space of ten years successively, most of the able-bodied men had quitted their country to follow their master, and perished in foreign climes.

Charles's ill fortune pursued him also in Pomerania: his army had retired thither from Poland, to the number of eleven thousand; the czar, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the duke of Holstein joined together to render this army useless, and to compel General Crassau, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of Stockholm hearing no news of their king, and distracted by the mortality that raged in that city, were glad to sign this neutrality, which seemed to deliver one of its provinces at least from the horrors of war. The emperor of Germany favored this extraordinary agreement, by which it was stipulated that the Swedish army then in Pomerania should not move to assist their monarch in any other part of the world; nay, it was furthermore resolved in the German Empire, to raise an army to enforce its execution. The reason of this was that the emperor of Germany, who was then at war with France, hoped to engage the Swedish army in his service. This whole negotiation was carried on while Peter was subduing Livonia, Esthonia, and Karelia.

Charles XII., who was all this time at Bender, putting every spring in motion to engage the divan to declare war against the czar, received this news as one of the severest blows his untoward fortune

had dealt him. He could not brook that his senate at Stockholm should pretend to tie up the hands of his army, and it was on this occasion that he wrote that he would send one of his boots to govern them.

The Danes, in the meantime, were making preparations to invade Sweden; so that every nation in Europe was now engaged in war. Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England were contending for the dominions left by Charles II. of Spain; and the whole North was up in arms against Charles XII. A quarrel with the Ottoman Empire was all that was lacking for every village in Europe to be exposed to the ravages of war. This quarrel happened soon afterward, when Peter had attained to the summit of his glory, and precisely for that reason.

ADVERTISEMENT.

(Chapter XX. was the beginning of the Second Part.)

THE Russian Empire has become so prominent in Europe, that the history of Peter, its real founder, is thereby rendered still more interesting. This prince gave a new face to the North, and, after his decease, we have seen his nation on the point of changing the fate of Germany, and extending its influence over France and Spain, notwithstanding the immense distance of those kingdoms.

The establishment of this empire forms perhaps the most considerable era in the annals of Europe

next to that of the discovery of the New World; and it is this consideration alone, which induces the author of the first part of the history of Peter the Great to present the public with the second.

There are some mistakes in several of the impressions of the first part, of which he thinks necessary to give the reader notice, and are as follows: page 3, after the words *in the route which the caravans might take,* add *in travelling through Kalmuck plains, and over the great desert of Kobi.* Page 6, for *at the junction,* read *at the mouth.* Page 17, for *Red Russia,* read *with a part of Red Russia.* And here it may not be improper to acquaint those critics who know little of the matter, that Volhynia, Podolia, and some of the neighboring countries, have been called Red Russia by all geographers. On page 39, the editor, deceived by the lack of a cipher in the MS. copy, has printed 72,000 *bondmen belonging to the monks,* instead of *seven hundred and twenty thousand.* Page 44, after the words, *when the Greek Church was first established in Russia,* take out what follows, and in its place insert, *Chrysoberg, patriarch of Constantinople, sent a bishop to baptize Wolodimer, in order that he might, by that means, add this part of the world to his patriarchal see; Wolodimer then completed the work that had been begun by his father. One Michael, a native of Syria, was the first metropolitan of Russia.* Page 73, *He looked upon the Jesuits as dangerous politicians,* to which may be added, that the Jesuits, who introduced themselves into Russia in 1685, were driven out of that empire again in 1689, and having a sec-

ond time got footing, they were finally expelled in 1718.

The title of *small* may be continued to the country of Orenburg, because that government is small in comparison with Siberia, on which it borders. For *the skin of a sheep,* which several travellers affirm to be worshipped by the Ostiacks, may be substituted that of *a bear;* for if these honest people are supposed to pay divine worship to a thing, because it is useful to them, the fur of a bear is certainly a greater object of adoration with them than a sheep's skin; but he must surely wear an ass' skin who would lay any stress on such trifling anecdotes.

Whether the barks built by Czar Peter I. were, or were not called *half galleys,* or whether this prince lived at first in a wooden house, or in one built of brick, will, I believe, be thought of little importance.

There are, however, some things more deserving the attention of a judicious reader. It is said, for instance, in the first volume, that the inhabitants of Kamchatka have no religion; but from certain memorials of a later date, I learn that this savage people have their divines, who make the inhabitants of this peninsula to be descended from a superior being, whom they called *Kouthou.* These memorials assert also that they pay no worship to this deity, and express neither love nor fear for him.

Hence it appears, that though they have a mythology, yet they have no religion; this may be true, but it is not very probable. Fear is one of the natural attributes of man. It is said, furthermore, that

in the midst of their absurdities, they make a distinction of things permitted, and things forbidden; among the former, they reckon the indulging of all their passions; and, among the latter, the sharpening of a knife or a hatchet while they are travelling, or the saving of a person from drowning; but if it is held a sin by these people to save the life of a fellow creature, they are in that respect certainly different from all other people in the world, who instinctively fly to the assistance of one another, when interest and passion do not get the better of their natural inclination. One would imagine that they could never have thought of making criminal an action which in itself is so common and necessary; that it is not even meritorious, but by a philosophy equally false and superstitious, which would inculcate that we are not in anything to oppose destiny, and that no one should save a man whom God has preordained to be drowned; but these barbarians have not the least knowledge even of a false philosophy; and yet we are told that they celebrate a great feast, which they call by a word which in their language signifies *purification;* but from what have they to purify themselves, if they hold everything to be allowed; and *for* what, if they neither fear nor love their god *Kouthou?*

Their notions are, doubtless, in many respects contradictory, as are indeed those of almost every other people; with this difference, that theirs arise from a want of understanding, ours from an abuse of it. We abound much more in contradictions, because we are much greater reasoners.

As they acknowledge a kind of god, so they have also their evil spirits. Lastly, they have sorcerers and magicians among them, as there have always been among all nations, even the most civilized. In Kamchatka old women are looked upon as witches, as they were among us, till we had attained to a clearer knowledge of natural law. Hence we find it has ever been the lot of human beings to entertain absurd notions, founded on our curiosity and weakness. The people of Kamchatka have also their prophets, who explain their dreams; and it is not long since we had ours.

After the court of Russia had subjected these people by building five fortresses in their country, they instituted the Christian religion of the Greek Church among them. A Russian gentleman, perfectly well acquainted with these people, informed me that one of their greatest objections to receiving it was that they were certain it could not be instituted for them, inasmuch as bread and wine were essential parts of our holy rites, whereas they had neither bread nor wine in their country.

In other respects these people merit very little notice. I shall make only one observation in relation to them, namely, that if we cast our eyes on three-fourths of America, the whole southern part of Africa, and on the North, from Lapland as far as the Sea of Japan, we shall find one-half of the human race to be very little superior to the people of Kamchatka.

And here it may be proper to observe to the reader that the famous geographer de L'Isle calls

this country Kamtshat, as the French and Italians generally drop the *ka* and *kay* which terminate most of the Russian names.

But there is a point of greater importance, and which may concern the dignity of crowned heads. Olearius, who, in 1634, accompanied the envoy of Holstein into Russia and Persia, relates in the third book of his history that Czar Ivan Basilowitz banished the emperor's ambassador into Siberia. This is a fact which I do not find related by any other historian. It is hardly probable that the emperor would have quietly submitted to so extraordinary an insult and open violation of the laws of nations.

The same Olearius says in another place: "We began our journey Feb. 13, 1634, in company with an ambassador from the court of France, called the count of Talleyrand, and prince of Chalais, who had been sent by Louis, together with one James Russel, on an embassy to Turkey and Muscovy; but his colleague did him so many bad offices with the patriarch of Russia, that the great duke banished him into Siberia."

In the same book he says that this ambassador, the prince of Chalais, and the before-mentioned Russel, his colleague, who was a merchant, were sent as envoys by Henry IV. It is not very likely that Henry IV., who died in 1610, should have sent an embassy to Russia in 1634; and if Louis XIII. had sent as his ambassador a person of so illustrious a house as that of Talleyrand, he would hardly have given him a merchant for his colleague; all Europe would have known of this embassy, and an insult

of so singular a nature offered to the king of France would have made still more noise.

I have already disputed this statement in the first part of this history; but finding that it nevertheless continued to gain some credit, I thought it necessary to search the register of foreign affairs in France for clearer information on this head, and find that the following incident gave rise to this mistake of Olearius.

There was, in fact, a person of the family of Talleyrand, who, having a great passion for travelling, made a voyage to Turkey without acquainting his family of his design, or furnishing himself with the necessary letters of recommendation. At the court of Moscow he met a Dutch merchant named Russel, who acted as agent for a company of merchants, and who had a correspondence with the French ministry; with this man the marquis of Talleyrand joined company to go on a tour to Persia; but having had some dispute with his fellow-traveller by the way, this latter accused him falsely to the patriarch of Moscow; and he was actually banished into Siberia. However, having found means to make his situation known to his family at the end of about three years, Mr. Desnoyers obtained his release of the court of Moscow.

Here, then, we have this story set in its true light. This would not merit a place in history, except that it may serve to put the reader on his guard against the multitude of anecdotes of a similar nature with which the relations of most travellers abound.

There are historical errors and historical false-

hoods. This narrative of Olearius is only an error; but when we are told that a czar caused an ambassador's hat to be nailed to his head, that is a falsehood. A writer may be deceived in regard to the number or force of the ships that compose a naval armament, or in regard to the extent of a country; but these only are errors, and of a very pardonable kind. Again, those who repeat the fabulous accounts of antiquity, in which the origin of all nations is enveloped, may be accused of a weakness common to all the writers of old times; but this is not falsifying, it is, properly speaking, no more than copying tales.

We are also frequently led by inadvertency into faults which cannot be called falsehoods; for instance, when we read in Hübner's geography that the boundaries of Europe are in that place where the river Obi empties itself into the Black Sea, and that Europe contains thirty millions of inhabitants; these are inaccuracies which a reader of any knowledge of history can easily rectify.

The same treatise frequently presents us with large towns strongly fortified and well peopled, which are in reality no other than insignificant villages in a manner uninhabited. But here it is easily perceived that time has totally changed the face of things; that the author has consulted only ancient writers, and that what was matter of fact in their time ceases to be so at present.

Some writers, again, are mistaken in the inferences they draw from facts. Peter the Great abolished the patriarchal dignity. Hübner adds that he

caused himself to be declared patriarch. Certain spurious histories of Russia go still further and allege that he officiated in the pontifical character. Thus, from a known fact, they have drawn erroneous conclusions, which happen but too frequently.

What I have called by the name of historical falsehoods is still more common, and is the invention of flattery, or a foolish fondness for the marvellous. The historian who, to please a powerful family, prostitutes his pen to praise a tyrant, is a base wretch; he who endeavors to blacken the memory of a good prince is a villain; and the romancist who publishes the inventions of his own brain for real facts is a contemptible creature. The man who in former times made whole nations pay reverence to his fables would now hardly be read by the meanest of the people.

There are some critics who plunge still deeper into falsehood; such are those who alter passages, or else misconstrue them; and who, inspired by envy, write with ignorance against works of real utility; but let us leave those vipers to gnaw the file as the fittest punishment for their invidious labors.

CHAPTER XX.

CAMPAIGN OF PRUTH.

Sultan Achmet III. declared war against Peter I., not from any regard to the king of Sweden, but, as may readily be supposed, merely with a view to

his own interest. The khan of the Crim Tartars could not, without dread, behold a neighbor grow so powerful as Peter I. The Porte had, for some time, taken umbrage at the number of ships which this prince had on the Sea of Azov and in the Black Sea, at his fortifying the city of Azov, and at the flourishing state of the harbor of Taganrog, already famous; and, lastly, at his series of successes, and at the ambition which success never fails to augment.

It is neither true nor even probable that the Porte should have begun the war against the czar on the Sea of Azov, for no other reason than because a Swedish ship had taken a bark on the Baltic, on board of which was found a letter from a minister, whose name has never been mentioned. Norberg tells us that this letter contained a plan for the conquest of the Turkish Empire; that it was carried to Charles XII., who was then in Turkey, and was by him sent to the divan; and that, immediately after the receipt of this letter, war was declared. But this story carries the mark of fiction. It was the remonstrances of the khán of Tartary, who was more uneasy about the neighborhood of Azov than the Turkish divan, that induced the latter to give orders for taking the field.*

*The account this chaplain gives of the demands of the grand seignior is equally false and puerile. He says that Sultan Achmet, previous to his declaring war against the czar, sent to that prince a paper, containing the conditions on which he was willing to grant him peace. These conditions, Norberg tells us, were as follows: "That Peter should renounce his alliance with Augustus, reinstate Stanislaus in the possession of the crown of Poland, restore all Livonia to Charles XII., and pay that prince the

It was in the month of August and before the czar had completed the reduction of Livonia, that Achmet III. resolved to declare war against him. The Turks, at that time, could hardly have had the news of the taking of Riga, and, therefore, the proposal of restoring to the king of Sweden the value in money of the effects he had lost at the battle of Poltava, would have been the most absurd thing imaginable, if not exceeded by that of demolishing St. Petersburg. The behavior of Charles XII. at Bender was sufficiently romantic; but the conduct of the Turkish divan would have been much more so, if we suppose it to have made any demands of this kind.

In November, 1710, the khan of Tartary, who was the principal instigator of this war, paid Charles a visit in his retreat at Bender. They were connected by the same interests, inasmuch as Europe forms part of the frontiers of Little Tartary. Charles and the khan were the two greatest sufferers by the successes of the czar; but the khan did not command the forces of the grand seignior. He was like one of the feudatory princes of Germany, who served in the armies of the empire with their own troops, and were subject to the authority of the emperor's generals for the time being.

value in ready money of what he had taken from him at the battle of Poltava; and, lastly, that the czar should demolish his newly-built city of St. Petersburg." This piece was forged by one Brazey, a half-starved pamphleteer, and author of a work entitled "Memoirs Satirical, Historical, and Entertaining." It was from this fountain Norberg drew his intelligence; and however he may have been the confessor of Charles XII. he certainly does not appear to have been his confidant.

The first step taken by the divan was to arrest Tolstoi, the czar's ambassador at the Porte, in the streets of Constantinople, together with thirty of his domestics, who, with their master, were confined in the prison of the Seven Towers. This barbarous custom, at which even savages would blush, is owing to the Turks always having a number of foreign ministers residing among them, whereas they never send any in return. They look on the ambassadors of Christian princes in no other light than as merchants or consuls; and having naturally as great a contempt for Christians as they have for Jews, they seldom condescend to observe the laws of nations in respect to them, unless forced to it; at least, they have hitherto persisted in this barbarous pride.

The famous vizier, Achmet Cuprogli, who took the island of Candia under Mahomet IV., insulted the son of the French ambassador, and even carried his brutality so far as to strike him, and afterward to confine him in prison, without Louis XIV., proud as he was, daring to resent it otherwise than by sending another minister to the Porte. The Christian princes, who are so remarkably delicate on the point of honor among themselves, and have even made it a part of the law of nations, seem to be utterly insensible on this head in regard to the Turks.

Never did a crowned head suffer greater affronts in the persons of his ministers than did Czar Peter. In the space of a few years his ambassador at the court of London was thrown into jail for debt, his plenipotentiary at the courts of Poland and Saxony

was broken on the wheel by order of the king of Sweden; and now his minister at the Ottoman Porte was seized and thrown into a dungeon at Constantinople like a common felon.

We have already observed that he received satisfaction from Queen Anne of England for the insult offered to his ambassador at London. The horrible affront he suffered in the person of Patkul was washed away in the blood of the Swedes slain at the battle of Poltava; but fortune permitted the violation of the laws of nations by the Turks to pass unpunished.

In January, 1711, the czar found himself obliged to quit the theatre of war in the West and march toward the frontiers of Turkey. He began by causing ten regiments that he had in Poland to advance toward Moldavia. He then ordered Marshal Sheremeto to set out from Livonia with his forces, and, leaving Prince Menshikoff at the head of affairs at St. Petersburg, he returned to Moscow to give orders for opening the campaign.

He established a senate of regency; the regiment of guards began their march, he issued orders to all the young nobles to follow him to the field to learn the art of war, and appointed some of them cadets, and others subaltern officers. Admiral Apraxin went to Azov to take the command by sea and land. These several measures having been taken, the czar published an ordinance in Moscow for acknowledging a new empress. This was the person who had been taken prisoner in Marienburg in 1702. Peter had, in 1696, repudiated his wife,

Eudocia Lapoukin, or Lapouchin, by whom he had two children. The laws of his Church permit divorces; but had they not, Peter would have enacted a new law to do so.

The fair captive of Marienburg, who had taken the name of Catherine, had a soul superior to her sex and her misfortunes. She rendered herself so agreeable to the czar that he would have her always near. She accompanied him in all his excursions and most fatiguing campaigns; sharing in his toils and softening his troubles by her natural gayety and her endeavors to oblige him on all occasions; and the indifference she expressed for the luxury, dress, and other indulgences, of which the generality of her sex are wont to make real necessities, won his regard. She frequently softened the passionate temper of the czar, and, by making him more merciful, rendered him more truly great. In a word, she became so necessary to him that he married her privately in 1707. He had already two daughters by her, and the following year she bore him a third, who was afterward married to the duke of Holstein.*

*This duke of Holstein, at the time he married the daughter of Peter I., was a prince of very inconsiderable power, though of one of the most ancient houses in Germany. His ancestors had been stripped of a great part of their dominions by the kings of Denmark, so that, at the time of this marriage, he found himself greatly circumscribed in point of possessions; but, from this epoch of his alliance with the czar of Muscovy, we may date the rise of the ducal branch of Holstein, which now fills the thrones of Russia and Sweden, and is likewise in possession of the bishopric of Lübeck, which, in all probability, will fall to this house, notwithstanding the late election, which at present is the subject of litigation, the issue of which will, to all appearance, terminate in favor of the

The czar made this private marriage known on March 17, 1711, the very day he set out with her to try the fortune of his arms against the Turks. The several dispositions he had made seemed to promise a successful issue. The hetman of the Cossacks was to guard against the Tartars, who had already begun to commit ravages in the Ukraine. The main body of the Russian army was advancing toward the Dniester, and another body, under Prince Golitzin, was marching through Poland. Everything went on favorably at the beginning; for Golitzin, having met a numerous body of Tartars near Kieff, who had been joined by some Cossacks, some Poles of King Stanislaus' party, and a few Swedes, defeated them and killed nearly five thousand men. These Tartars had, in their march through the open coun-

prince, son to the present bishop, through the protection of the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. The empress Catherine, who now sits on the throne of Russia, is herself descended from this august house, by the side of her mother, who was sister to the king of Sweden, to the prince-bishop of Lübeck, and to the famous prince George of Holstein, whose achievements made so much noise during the late war. This princess, whose name was Elizabeth, married the reigning prince of Anhalt Zerbst, whose house was indisputably the most ancient, and, in former times, the most powerful in all Germany, since they can trace their pedigree from the dukes of Ascania, who were formerly masters of the two electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg, as appears by their armorial bearings, which are, quarterly, the arms of Saxony and Brandenburg. Of this branch of Zerbst there is remaining only the present reigning prince, brother to the empress Catherine, who, in case he should die without issue, will succeed to the principality of Yvern, in East Friesland; from all which it appears already that the family of Holstein is at present the most powerful in Europe, as being in possession of three crowns in the North.

try, made about ten thousand prisoners. It has been the custom of the Tartars to carry with them a greater number of cords than scimitars, in order to bind the unhappy wretches they surprise. The captives were set free, and those who had made them prisoners were put to the sword. The whole Russian army amounted to sixty thousand men. It was to have been augmented by the troops belonging to the king of Poland. This prince, who owed everything to the czar, came to pay him a visit at Jarosla, on the river San, June 3, 1714, and promised him aid. War was now declared against the Turks in the name of these two monarchs; but the Polish Diet, not willing to break with the Ottoman Porte, refused to ratify the engagement their king had entered into. It was the fate of the czar to have in the king of Poland an ally who could never be of any service to him. He entertained similar hopes of assistance from the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, and was also disappointed.

These two provinces should have taken this opportunity to shake off the Turkish yoke. These countries were those of the ancient Daci, who, together with the Gepidæ, with whom they were intermixed, for a long time disturbed the Roman Empire. They were at length subdued by the emperor Trajan, and Constantine I. made them embrace the Christian religion. Dacia was one of the provinces of the Eastern Empire, but shortly after these very people contributed to the ruin of that of the West by serving under the Odoacers and Theodorics.

They continued to be subject to the Greek Em-

pire, and when the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople, were governed and oppressed by particular princes; at length they were totally subjected by the Turkish emperor, who now granted them investiture. The hospodar, or vaivode, chosen by the Ottoman Porte to govern these provinces, is always a Christian of the Greek Church. The Turks, by this choice, give a proof of their toleration, while our ignorant declaimers are accusing them of persecution. The prince nominated by the Porte is tributary to, or rather farms, these countries of the grand seignior; this dignity being always conferred on the best bidder or on him who makes the greatest presents to the vizier, as the office of Greek patriarch is conferred at Constantinople. Sometimes this government is bestowed on a dragoman, that is to say, the interpreter to the divan. These provinces are seldom under the government of the same vaivode, the Porte choosing to divide them, in order to be more sure of keeping them in subjection. Demetrius Cantemir was at this time vaivode of Moldavia. This prince was said to be descended from Tamerlane, because Tamerlane's true name was Timur, and Timur was a Tartarian khan; and so, from the name Tamurkan, say they, came the family of Cantemir.

Bessaraba Brancovan had been invested with the principality of Wallachia, but had not found any genealogist to deduce his pedigree from the Tartarian conqueror; Cantemir thought the time now ripe to shake off the Turkish yoke and render himself independent by means of the czar's protection.

In this respect he acted in the very same manner with Peter as Mazeppa had done with Charles XII. He even engaged Bessaraba for the present to join him in the conspiracy, of which he hoped to reap all the benefit himself; his plan being to make himself master of both provinces. The bishop of Jerusalem, who was at that time at Wallachia, was the soul of this conspiracy. Cantemir promised to furnish the czar with men and provisions, as Mazeppa did the king of Sweden, and kept his word no better.

General Sheremeto advanced toward Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, to inspect and occasionally assist the execution of these great projects. Cantemir came to meet him, and was received with all the honors due to a prince; but he acted as a prince in no one circumstance, except that of publishing a manifesto against the Turkish Empire. The hospodar of Wallachia, who soon discovered the ambitious plans of his colleague, quitted his party and returned to his duty. The bishop of Jerusalem dreading, with reason, the punishment due to his perfidy, fled and concealed himself; the people of Wallachia and Moldavia continued faithful to the Ottoman Porte, and those who were to have furnished provisions for the Russian army carried them to the Turks.

The vizier, Baltagi Mahomet, had already crossed the Danube at the head of one hundred thousand men, and was advancing toward Jassy along the banks of the river Pruth, which falls into the Danube, and which is nearly the boundary of Moldavia and Bessarabia. He then despatched Count Ponia-

towski,* a Polish gentleman attached to the fortunes of the king of Sweden, to desire that prince to make him a visit and see his army. Charles, whose pride always got the better of his judgment, would not

*This same Count Poniatowski, who was at that time in the service of Charles XII., died afterward Castellan of Cracow, and first senator of the republic of Poland after having enjoyed all the dignities to which a nobleman of that country can attain. His connections with Charles XII., during the prince's retirement at Bender, first made him taken notice of; and it is to be wished, for the honor of his memory, that he had waited till the conclusion of a peace between Sweden and Poland, to be reconciled to King Augustus; but following the dictates of ambition, rather than those of strict honor, he sacrificed the interests of both Charles and Stanislaus, to the care of his own fortune; and while he appeared the most zealous in their cause, he secretly did them all the ill service he could at the Ottoman Porte; to this double dealing he owed the immense fortune of which he was afterward possessed. He married the princess Czartoriska, daughter of the Castellan of Vilna, a lady, for her heroic spirit, worthy to have been born in the times of ancient Rome. When her elder son, the present grand chamberlain of the crown, had that famous dispute with Count Tarlo, palatine of Lublin, a dispute which made so much noise in all the public papers in the year 1742, this lady, after having made him shoot at a mark every day for three weeks, in order to be expert at firing, said to him, as he was mounting his horse, to go to meet his adversary: "Go, my son, but if you do not acquit yourself with honor in this affair, never appear before me again." This anecdote may serve as a specimen of the character of our heroine. The family of Czartoriski is descended from the ancient Jagellons, who were, for several ages, in lineal possession of the crown of Poland; and is, at this day, extremely rich and powerful by the alliances it has contracted, but they have never been able to acquire popularities; and so long as Count Tarlo—who was killed in a duel with the young count Poniatowski—lived, had no influence in the dictines, or lesser assembly of the states, because Tarlo, who was the idol of the nobles, and a sworn enemy to the Czartoriski family, carried everything before him, and nothing was done but according to his pleasure.

consent to this proposal; he insisted that the grand vizier should make him the first visit, in his asylum near Bender; when Poniatowski returned to the Ottoman camp and endeavored to excuse this refusal of his master, the vizier, turning to the khan of the Tartars, said: "This is the very behavior I expected from this proud infidel." This mutual pride, which never fails to alienate the minds of those in power from one another, did no service to the king of Sweden's affairs; and indeed that prince might have easily perceived from the beginning that the Turks were not acting for his interest, but for their own.

While the Turkish army was passing the Danube, the czar advanced by the frontiers of Poland and passed the Boristhenes in order to relieve Marshal Sheremeto, who was then on the banks of the Pruth to the south of Jassy, and in danger of being surrounded by an army of ten thousand Turks and an army of Tartars. Peter, before he passed the Boristhenes, was in doubt whether he should expose his beloved Catherine to these dangers, which seemed to increase every day; but Catherine looked upon this solicitude of the czar for her ease and safety as an affront offered to her love and courage, and pressed her consort so strongly on this head that he found himself obliged to consent that she should pass the river with him. The army beheld her with joy and admiration on horseback at the head of the troops, for she rarely made use of a carriage. After passing the Boristhenes, they had a tract of desert country to pass through and then to cross the Bog, then the river Dniester, and then another desert to

traverse, before they came to the banks of the Pruth. Catherine during this fatiguing march animated the whole army by her cheerfulness and affability. She sent refreshments to such of the officers as were sick, and extended her care even to the meanest soldier.

At length the czar brought his army in sight of Jassy on July 4, 1711. Here he was to establish his magazine. Bessaraba, the hospodar of Wallachia, who had again embraced the interest of the Ottoman Porte, but still, in appearance continued a friend to the czar, proposed to make peace with the Turks, although he had received no commission from the grand vizier for that purpose. His deceit, however, was soon discovered, and the czar contented himself with demanding only provisions for his army, which Bessaraba neither could nor would furnish. It was very difficult to procure any supplies from Poland, and those which Cantemir had promised, and which he vainly hoped to procure from Wallachia, could not be had. These disappointments rendered the situation of the Russian army very disagreeable; and, as an addition to their afflictions, they were infested with an immense swarm of grasshoppers, that covered the face of the whole country and devoured or spoiled everything where they alighted. They were also frequently in want of water during their march through sandy deserts and beneath a scorching sun; what little they could procure they were obliged to have brought to the camp from a considerable distance.

During this dangerous and fatiguing march, the

czar, by a singular fatality, found himself in the neighborhood of his rival and competitor Charles, Bender not being above twenty-five leagues from the place where the Russian army was encamped near Jassy. Some parties of Cossacks made excursions even to the place of that unfortunate monarch's retreat; but the Crim Tartars, who hovered round that part of the country, sufficiently secured him from any attempt that might be made to seize his person; and Charles waited in his camp with impatience, not fearing the issue of the war.

Peter, as soon as he had established some magazines, marched in haste with his army to the right of the river Pruth. His essential object was to prevent the Turks, who were posted to the left and toward the head of the river, from crossing it and marching toward him. This effected, he would then be master of Moldavia and Wallachia; with this object in view he despatched General Janus with the vanguard of the army to oppose the passage of the Turks; but the general did not arrive till they had already begun to cross the river on their bridges; he was obliged to retreat, and his infantry was closely pursued by the Turks till the czar came to his assistance.

The grand vizier now marched directly along the river toward the czar. The two armies were very unequal; that of the Turks, which had been reinforced by the Tartarian troops, consisted of nearly two hundred and fifty thousand men, while that of the Russians amounted to barely thirty-five thousand. There was, indeed, a considerable body of troops, headed by General Renne, on their march

THE CAMP ON THE PRUTH

Camp des Turcs.
Chemin de Gurguli à Yassi.
Camp du Czar
Riviere du Pruth, remontant vers Yassi.
Camp des Tartares

from the other side of the Moldavian Mountains; but the Turks had cut off all communication with those parts.

The czar's army now began to be in want of provisions, and could, only with the greatest difficulty, procure water, though encamped at a very short distance from the river, being exposed to a furious discharge from the batteries which the grand vizier had caused to be erected on the left side of the river, under the care of a body of troops that kept up a constant fire on the Russians. By this account it appears that Baltagi Mahomet, the Turkish vizier, far from being the weak commander which the Swedes have represented him, gave proof on this occasion that he understood his business. Passing the Pruth in the sight of the enemy, obliging him to retreat, and harassing him in that retreat; cutting off all communication between the czar's army, and a body of cavalry that was marching to reinforce it; hemming in this army, without the least probability of a retreat, and cutting off all supplies of water and provisions, by keeping it constantly under check by the batteries on the opposite side of the river, were manœuvres that in no way bespoke an inexperienced or indolent general.

Peter now saw himself in a situation even worse than that to which he had reduced his rival Charles XII., at Poltava, being, like him, surrounded by a superior army, and in greater want of provisions, and, like him, having confided in the promises of a prince too powerful to be bound by those promises,

he resolved upon a retreat, and endeavored to return toward Jassy, in order to choose a more advantageous situation for his camp.

He accordingly decamped under cover of the night on July 20, 1711; but his army had scarcely begun its march, when, at break of day, the Turks fell upon his rear; but the Preobrazinski regiment facing about and standing firm for a considerable time, checked the fury of their onset. The Russians then formed themselves and made a line of intrenchments with their wagons and baggage. The same day the Turks returned again to the attack with the whole body of their army; and as a proof that the Russians knew how to defend themselves, let what will be alleged to the contrary, they made head against this very superior force for a considerable time, killed a great number of their enemies, who in vain endeavored to break in upon them.

There were in the Ottoman army two officers belonging to the king of Sweden, namely, Count Poniatowski and the count of Sparre, who had the command of a body of Cossacks in that prince's interest. My papers inform me that these two generals advised the grand vizier to avoid coming to action with the Russians, and content himself with depriving them of supplies of water and provisions, which would oblige them either to surrender or to perish of famine; other memoirs pretend, on the contrary, that these officers would have persuaded Mahomet to fall upon this feeble and half-starved army, in a weak and distressed condition, and put all to the sword. The former plan would have been the

wiser, but the second is more agreeable to the character of generals who had been trained under Charles XII.

The fact is, that the grand vizier fell upon the rear of the Russian army at the dawn of day, which was thrown into confusion, and there remained only a line of four hundred men to confront the Turks. This small body formed itself with amazing quickness under the orders of a German general named Allard, who, to his immortal honor, made such rapid and excellent disposition on this occasion, that the Russians withstood for over three hours the repeated attacks of the whole Ottoman army, without losing a foot of ground.

The czar now found himself amply repaid for the immense pains he had taken to inure his troops to strict discipline. At the battle of Narva sixty thousand men were defeated by only eight thousand, because the former were undisciplined; and here we behold a rear-guard, consisting of only eight thousand Russians, sustaining the onslaughts of one hundred and fifty thousand Turks, killing seven thousand of them, and obliging the rest to fall back.

After this sharp engagement both armies intrenched themselves for that night; but the Russians were still surrounded and deprived of all provisions, even water; for, although they were so near the river Pruth, they did not dare approach its banks; for as soon as any parties were sent out to find water, a body of Turks posted on the opposite shore drove them back by a furious discharge from their cannon loaded with chain shot; and the body

of the Turkish army which had attacked that of the czar the day before, continued to play upon them from another quarter with the whole force of their artillery.

The Russian army appeared to be lost beyond resource, by its position, by the inequality of numbers, and by the want of provisions. The skirmishes on both sides were frequent and bloody; the Russian cavalry being almost all dismounted, could no longer be of any service, unless by fighting on foot; in a word, the situation was desperate. It was out of their power to retreat, they had nothing left but to gain a complete victory, to perish to the last man, or to be made slaves by the infidels.

All the accounts and memoirs of those times unanimously agree that the czar, debating whether or not he should expose his wife, his army, his empire, and the fruits of all his labors to almost inevitable destruction, retired to his tent oppressed with grief and seized with violent convulsions, to which he was naturally subject, and which the present desperate situation of affairs brought on with redoubled violence. In this condition he remained alone in his tent, having given positive orders that no one should be admitted to be a witness to the distraction of his mind. But Catherine, hearing of his distress, forced her way to him, and on this occasion Peter found how well it was for him that he had permitted his wife to accompany him on this expedition.

A wife who had faced death in its most horrible shapes, and had exposed her person, like the meanest

soldier, to the fire of the Turkish artillery for the sake of her husband, had an undoubted right to speak to her husband, and to be heard. The czar accordingly listened to what she had to say, and in the end suffered himself to be persuaded to try and send to the vizier proposals of peace.

It has been a custom from time immemorial throughout the East, that when any people apply for an audience of the sovereign or his representative, they must not presume to approach without a present. On this occasion, therefore, Catherine gathered the few jewels that she had brought with her on this military tour, in which no magnificence or luxury was admitted; to these she added two black foxes' skins and what ready money she could collect; the latter was designed for a present to the kiaia. She made choice herself of an officer on whose fidelity and understanding she thought she could depend, who, accompanied by two servants, was to carry the presents to the grand vizier, and afterward deliver the money intended for the kiaia into his own hand. This officer was also charged with a letter from Marshal Sheremeto to the grand vizier. The memoirs of Czar Peter mention this letter, but they take no notice of the other particulars of Catherine's conduct in this business; however, they are sufficiently confirmed by the declaration issued by Peter in 1723, when he caused Catherine to be crowned empress, wherein we find these words: "She has been of the greatest assistance to us in all our dangers, and particularly in the battle of Pruth, when our army was reduced to twenty-two thousand

men." If the czar had then, indeed, no more men capable of bearing arms, the service which Catherine did him on that occasion was fully equivalent to the honors and dignities conferred upon her. The journal of Peter the Great observes that the day of the bloody battle—July 20th—he had thirty-one thousand five hundred and fifty-four foot and six thousand six hundred and ninety-two horse, the latter almost all dismounted; he must then have lost sixteen thousand two hundred and forty-six men in that engagement. The same memoirs state that the loss sustained by the Turks greatly exceeded that of the Russians; for as the former rushed upon the czar's troops pell-mell and without observing any order, hardly a single shot of the latter missed its mark. If this is true, the affair of July 20th and 21st was one of the most bloody in the annals of history.

We must either suspect Peter the Great of having been mistaken in his declaration at the crowning of the empress when he acknowledges "his obligations to her for having saved his army, which was reduced to twenty-two thousand men," or accuse him of a falsity in his journal, wherein he says that the day on which the above battle was fought, his army, exclusive of the forces he expected from the other side of the Moldavian mountains, "amounted to thirty-one thousand five hundrd and fifty-four foot, and six thousand six hundred and ninety-two horse." According to this calculation, the battle of Pruth must have been far more terrible than the historians have represented. There must certainly be some mistake here, which is no uncommon thing in

the records of campaigns, especially when the writer enters into a minute detail of circumstances. The surest method, therefore, on these occasions is to confine ourselves to the principal events, the victory, and the defeat; as we can very seldom know with any degree of certainty the exact loss on either side.

But, however the Russian army might be reduced in point of numbers, there were still hopes that the grand vizier, deceived by their vigorous and obstinate resistance, might grant them peace on terms honorable to his master's arms, and at the same time not absolutely disgraceful to those of the czar. It was the great merit of Catherine to have perceived this possibility at a time when her consort and his generals expected nothing less than destruction.

Norberg, in his "History of Charles XII.," quotes a letter, sent by the czar to the grand vizier, in which he expresses himself thus: "If, contrary to my intentions, I have been so unhappy as to incur the displeasure of his highness, I am ready to make reparation for any cause of complaint he may have against me; I conjure you, most noble general, to prevent the further effusion of blood; give orders, I beseech you, to put a stop to the dreadful and destructive fire of your artillery, and accept of the hostage I herewith send you."

This letter carries all the marks of falsity, as do most of the random pieces of Norberg; it is dated July 11th, N. S., whereas no letter was sent to Baltagi Mahomet till July 21st, N. S., neither was it the czar who wrote to the vizier, but General Sher-

emeto; there were no such expressions made use of as "if the czar has had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of his highness," such terms being suitable only to a subject who implores the pardon of his sovereign whom he has offended. There was no mention made of any hostage, nor was any sent. The letter was carried by an officer, in the midst of a furious cannonade on both sides. Sheremeto, in this letter, only reminded the vizier of certain overtures of peace that the Porte had made at the beginning of the campaign through the mediation of the Dutch and English ministers, and in which the divan demanded that the fort and harbor of Taganrog should be given up, which were the real subjects of the war.

Some hours elapsed before the messenger received an answer from the grand vizier, and it was apprehended that he had either been killed by the enemy's cannon or that they detained him prisoner. A second courier was therefore despatched with duplicates of the former letters, and a council of war was immediately held, at which Catherine was present. At this council ten general officers signed the following resolution:

"Resolved, if the enemy will not accept the conditions proposed, and should insist upon our laying down our arms, and surrendering at discretion, that all the ministers and general officers are unanimously of opinion to cut their way through the enemy sword in hand."

In consequence of this resolution, a line of intrenchments was thrown round the baggage, and

the Russians marched some few paces out of their camp toward the enemy, when the grand vizier caused a suspension of hostilities to be proclaimed between the two armies.

All the writers of the Swedish party have treated the grand vizier as a cowardly and infamous wretch, who had been bribed to sell the honor of his master's arms. In the same manner have several authors accused Count Piper of receiving money from the duke of Marlborough to persuade the king of Sweden to continue the war against the czar; and have laid to the charge of the French minister that he purchased the Peace of Seville for a stipulated sum. Such accusations should never be advanced without very strong proofs. It is seldom that a minister will stoop to such meannesses, which are always discovered sooner or later by those who have been intrusted with the payment of the money, or by the public registers, which never lie. A minister of state stands as a public object to the eyes of all Europe. His credit and influence depend wholly upon his character, and he is always sufficiently rich to be above the temptation of becoming a traitor.

The place of viceroy of the Turkish Empire is so illustrious, and the profits annexed to it in time of war so immense, there was such a profusion of everything necessary and even luxurious in the camp of Baltagi Mahomet, and, on the other hand, so much poverty and distress in that of the czar, that surely the grand vizier was rather in a position to give than to receive. The trifling present of a woman who had nothing to send but a few skins and some

jewels, in compliance with the established custom of all courts, or rather those in particular of the East, can never be considered as a bribe. The frank and open conduct of Baltagi Mahomet seems at once to give the lie to the black accusations with which so many writers have stained their narratives. Vice-Chancellor Shaffiroff paid the vizier a visit in his tent; everything was transacted in an open manner on both sides, and indeed it could not be otherwise. The first article of the negotiation was entered into in the presence of a person wholly devoted to the king of Sweden, a domestic of Count Poniatowski, who was himself one of that monarch's generals. This man served as interpreter, and the several articles were put in writing by the vizier's chief secretary, Hummer Effendi. Moreover, Count Poniatowski was there in person. The present sent to the kiaia was offered probably in form, and everything was transacted agreeably to the Oriental customs. Other presents were made by the Turks in return; so that there was not the least appearance of treachery. The motives which determined the vizier to consent to the proposals offered him were, first, that the body of troops under the command of General Renne on the borders of the river Sireth, in Moldavia, had already crossed three rivers, and were actually in the neighborhood of the Danube, where Renne had already made himself master of the town and castle of Brahila, defended by a numerous garrison under the command of a pasha. Secondly, the czar had another body of troops advancing through the frontiers of Poland;

and lastly, it is more than probable that the vizier was not fully acquainted with the extreme want that was felt in the Russian camp. One enemy seldom furnishes another with an exact account of its provisions and ammunition; on the contrary, both sides are accustomed rather to make a parade of plenty, even at a time when they are in the greatest need. There can be no artifices practised to gain intelligence of the true state of an adversary's affairs by means of spies between the Turks and the Russians. The difference of their dress, of their religion, and of their language, will not permit it. They are, moreover, strangers to desertion, so common in most of our armies, and consequently the grand vizier could not know the desperate condition to which the czar's army was reduced.

Baltagi, who was not fond of war, and who, nevertheless, had conducted this very well, thought that his expedition would be sufficiently successful if he put his master in possession of the towns and harbors which made the subject of the war, stopped the progress of the victorious army under Renne, and obliged that general to quit the banks of the Danube and return to Russia, and forever shut the entrance of the Sea of Azov, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Black Sea, against an enterprising prince; and, lastly, if he avoided staking these certain advantages on the hazard of a new battle—in which, after all, despair might have got the better of superiority of numbers. Only the preceding day he had beheld his janissaries repulsed with loss; and there lacked not examples of many victories having

been gained by the weaker over the stronger. Such were Mahomet's reasons for accepting the proposals of peace. His conduct, however, did not merit the approbation of Charles's officers, who served in the Turkish army, nor of the khan of Tartary. It was to the interest of the latter and his followers to reject all terms that would deprive them of the opportunity of ravaging the frontiers of Russia and Poland. Charles XII. desired to be avenged on his rival, the czar; but the general, and the first minister of the Ottoman Empire, was neither influenced by the private thirst of revenge which animated the Christian monarch, nor by the desire of booty which actuated the Tartar chief.

As soon as the suspension of arms was agreed to, the Russians purchased of the Turks the provisions of which they stood in need. The articles of the peace were not signed at that time, as is related by La Motraye. The vizier, among other conditions, demanded that the czar should promise not to interfere any more in Polish affairs. This was a point particularly insisted upon by Count Poniatowski; but it was, in fact, to the interest of the Ottoman crown that the kingdom of Poland should continue in its then defenceless and divided state; accordingly this demand was reduced to that of the Russian troops evacuating the frontiers of Poland. The khan of Tartary, on his side, demanded a tribute of forty thousand sequins. This point, after being long debated, was at length abandoned.

The grand vizier insisted for a long time that Prince Cantemir should be delivered to him, as Pat-

kul had been to the king of Sweden. Cantemir was in the same situation as Mazeppa had been. The czar caused that hetman to be arraigned and tried for his defection, and to be executed in effigy. The Turks were not acquainted with such a proceeding; they knew nothing of trials for contumacy, nor of public condemnations. The passing of a sentence on any person and executing him in effigy were the more strange to them, as their law forbids the representation of any human likeness whatever. The vizier in vain insisted on Cantemir's being delivered up, Peter peremptorily refused to comply, and wrote the following letter with his own hand to Vice-Chancellor Shaffiroff:

"I can resign to the Turks all the country as far as Kursk, because I have hopes of being able to recover it again; but I will by no means violate my faith, which, once forfeited, can never be retrieved. I have nothing I can properly call my own but my honor. If I give up that, I cease to be longer a king."

At length the treaty was concluded and signed at a village called Falczio, on the river Pruth. Among other things, it was stipulated that Azov and the territories belonging thereto should be restored, together with all the ammunition and artillery that were in the place before the czar made himself master thereof in 1696; that the harbor of Taganrog should be demolished, as also that of Samara, on the river of the same name; and several other fortresses. There was another article added respecting the king of Sweden, which article alone

sufficiently shows the little regard the vizier had for that prince; for it was therein stipulated that the czar should not molest Charles in his return to his dominions, and that afterward the czar and he might make peace with each other, if they were so inclined.

It is evident by the wording of this extraordinary article that Baltagi Mahomet had not forgotten the haughty manner in which Charles XII. had behaved to him a short time before, and it is not unlikely that this very behavior of the king of Sweden might have been one inducement with Mahomet to comply so readily with his rival's proposals for peace. Charles's glory depended on the ruin of the czar; but we are seldom inclined to exalt those who express a contempt for us; however, this prince, who refused to pay the vizier a visit in his camp, on his invitation, when it was certainly to his interest to have been upon good terms with him, now came thither in haste and unasked, when the work which put an end to all his hopes was on the point of being concluded. The vizier did not go to meet him in person, but contented himself with sending two of his pashas, nor would he stir out of his tent till Charles was within a few paces of it.

This interview consisted, as every one knows, in mutual reproaches. Several historians have characterized the answer which the vizier made to the king of Sweden, when that prince reproached him with not making the czar prisoner, when he might have done it so easily, as the reply of a weak man. "If I had taken him prisoner," said Mahomet, "who would there be to govern his dominions?"

It is very easy, however, to see that this was the answer of a man who was piqued with resentment; and these words which he added, "for it is not proper that every crowned head should quit his dominions," sufficiently showed that he intended to mortify the refugee of Bender.

Charles gained nothing by his journey, but the pleasure of tearing the vizier's robe with his spurs, while that officer, who was in a position to make him repent this splenetic insult, seemed not to notice it, in which he was certainly greatly superior to Charles. If anything could have made that monarch sensible how easily fortune can put greatness to the blush, it would have been the reflection that at the battle of Poltava a pastry-cook's boy had forced his whole army to surrender at discretion, and in this of Pruth a wood-cutter was the arbiter of his fate, and that of his rival the czar; for the vizier Baltagi Mahomet had been a cutter of wood in the grand seignior's seraglio, as his name implied; and far from being ashamed of that title, he gloried in it; so much do the manners of the Eastern people differ from ours.

When the news of this treaty reached Constantinople, the grand seignior was so well pleased, that he ordered public rejoicings to be made for a whole week, and Mahomet, kiaia or lieutenant-general, who brought the tidings to the divan, was instantly raised to the dignity of Boujouk Imraour, or master of the horse, a certain proof that the sultan did not think himself ill served by his vizier.

Norberg seems to have known very little of the

Turkish government when he says that "the grand seignior was obliged to keep fair with Baltagi Mahomet, that vizier having rendered himself formidable." The janissaries indeed have often rendered themselves formidable to their sultans; but there is not one example of a vizier who has not been easily sacrificed to the will or orders of his sovereign, and Mahomet was in no position to support himself by his own power. Besides, Norberg manifestly contradicts himself by affirming, in the same page, that the janissaries were irritated against Mahomet, and that the sultan stood in dread of his power.

The king of Sweden was now reduced to the necessity of forming cabals in the Ottoman court; and a monarch who had so lately made kings by his own power was now seen waiting for audience, and offering memorials and petitions which were refused.

Charles exhausted all the means of intrigue, like a subject who endeavors to make a minister suspected by his master. In this manner he acted against Mahomet, and against those who succeeded him. At one time he addressed himself to the sultana Valide by means of a Jewess, who had admission into the seraglio; at another, he employed one of the eunuchs for the same purpose. At length he had recourse to a man who was to mingle among the grand seignior's guards, and, by counterfeiting a person out of his senses, to attract the attention of the sultan, and by that means deliver into his own hand a memorial from Charles. From all these various

schemes, the king of Sweden had only the mortification of seeing himself deprived of his thaim; that is to say, of the daily pension which the Porte had assigned him for his subsistence, and which amounted to about 1,500 French livres. The grand vizier, instead of remitting this allowance to him as usual, sent him an order, in the form of a friendly advice, to quit the grand seignior's dominions.

Charles, however, was determined not to depart, still flattering himself with the vain hope that he should once more re-enter Poland and Russia with a powerful army of Turks. Every one knows what was the issue of his boldness in the year 1724, and how he engaged an army of janissaries, Spahis and Tartars, with only himself, his secretaries, his valet de chambre, cook, and stable-men; that he was taken prisoner in that country, where he had been treated with the greatest hospitality; and that he at length got back to his own kingdom in the disguise of a courier, after having lived five years in Turkey; from all which it remains to be acknowledged, that if there was reason in the conduct of this extraordinary prince, it was reason of a very different nature from that of other men.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCLUSION OF THE AFFAIRS OF PRUTH.

It is necessary to repeat an event already related in the history of Charles XII. It happened that during the suspension of hostilities which pre-

ceded the treaty of Pruth, two Tartar soldiers surprised and took prisoners two Italian officers belonging to the czar's army, and sold them to an officer of the Turkish janissaries. The vizier being informed of this breach of public faith, punished the two Tartars with death. How are we to reconcile this severe delicacy with the violation of the laws of nations in the person of Tolstoi, the czar's ambassador, whom this very vizier caused to be arrested in the streets of Constantinople, and imprisoned in the castle of the Seven Towers? There is always some reason for the contradictions we find in the actions of mankind. Baltagi Mahomet was incensed against the khan of Tartary, for having opposed the peace he had lately made, and was resolved to show that chieftain that he was his master.

The treaty was no sooner concluded than the czar quitted the borders of the Pruth, and returned toward his own dominions, followed by a body of eight thousand Turks, whom the vizier had sent as an army of observation to watch the motions of the Russian army during its march, and also to serve as an escort or safeguard to them against the wandering Tartars which infested those parts.

Peter instantly set about accomplishing the treaty, by demolishing the fortresses of Samara and Kamenskii; but the restoring of Azov, and the demolition of the port of Taganrog, met with some difficulties in the execution. According to the terms of the treaty, it was necessary to distinguish the artillery and ammunition which belonged to the

Turks in Azov before that place was taken by the czar, from those which had been sent there after it fell into his hands. The governor of the place spun out this affair to a tedious length, at which the Porte was greatly incensed, and not without reason: the sultan was impatient to receive the keys of Azov. The vizier promised they should be sent from time to time, but the governor always found means to delay the delivery of them. Baltagi Mahomet lost the good graces of his master, and with them his place. The khan of Tartary and his other enemies made such good use of their interest with the sultan that the grand vizier was deposed, and several pashas were disgraced at the same time; but the grand seignior, well convinced of his minister's fidelity, did not deprive him of either his life or estate, but only sent him to Mytilene to take the command of that island. This simple removal from the helm of affairs, without the loss of his fortunes, and above all, giving him the command in Mytilene, sufficiently contradicts all that Norberg has advanced to induce us to believe that this vizier had been corrupted with the czar's money.

Norberg asserts, furthermore, that the Bostangi pasha, who came to divest him of his office, and to acquaint him with the grand seignior's sentence, declared him "a traitor, one who has disobeyed the orders of his sovereign lord, had sold himself to the enemy for money, and was found guilty of not having taken proper care of the interests of the king of Sweden." In the first place, such declarations are not in use in Turkey; the orders of the

grand seignior always being issued privately, and executed with secrecy. Secondly, if the vizier had been declared "a traitor, a rebel, and a corrupted person," crimes of this nature would have been instantly punished with death in a country where they are never forgiven. Lastly, if he was punishable for not having sufficiently attended to the interests of the king of Sweden, it is evident that this prince must have had such a degree of influence at the Ottoman Porte as to have made the other ministers tremble, who would consequently have endeavored to gain his good graces; whereas, on the contrary, the pasha Yusuf, aga of the janissaries, who succeeded Mahomet Baltagi as grand vizier, had the same sentiments as his predecessor, in relation to Charles's conduct, and was so far from doing him any service, that he thought of nothing but how to get rid of so dangerous a guest; and when Count Poniatowski, the companion and confidant of that monarch, went to compliment the vizier on his new dignity, the latter spoke to him thus: "Infidel, I forewarn thee, that if ever I find thee hatching any intrigues, I will upon the first notice cause thee to be thrown into the sea with a stone about thy neck."

This compliment Count Poniatowski himself relates in the memoirs which he drew up at my request, and is a sufficient proof of the little influence his master had in the Turkish court. All that Norberg has related touching the affairs of that empire appears to come from a prejudiced person, and one who was very ill informed of the circumstances he pretends to write about. And we may count among

the errors of a party spirit and political falsehoods, everything which this writer advances unsupported by proofs, concerning the pretended corruption of a grand vizier; that is, of a person who had the disposal of more than sixty millions per annum, without being subject to the least account. I have now before me the letter which Count Poniatowski wrote to King Stanislaus immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Pruth, in which he upbraids Baltagi Mahomet with the slight he showed to the king of Sweden, his dislike to the war, and the unsteadiness of his temper; but never once hints at corruption, for he knew too well what the place of grand vizier was, to entertain an idea that the czar was capable of setting a price on the infidelity of the second person in the Ottoman Empire.

Schaffiroff and Sheremeto, who remained at Constantinople as hostages on the part of the czar for his performance of the treaty, were not used in the manner they would have been if known to have purchased this peace, and to have joined with the vizier in deceiving his master. They were allowed to go at liberty about the city, escorted by two companies of janissaries.

The czar's ambassador, Tolstoi, having been released from his confinement in the Seven Towers, immediately on the signing of the Treaty of Pruth, the Dutch and English ministers interposed with the new vizier to see the several articles of that treaty put into execution.

Azov was at length restored to the Turks, and the fortresses mentioned in the treaty were de-

molished according to stipulation. And now the Ottoman Porte, though very little inclined to interfere in the differences between Christian princes, could not without vanity behold himself made arbitrator between Russia, Poland, and the king of Sweden; and insisted that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland, and deliver the Turkish Empire from so dangerous a neighbor; and desirous that the Christian princes might continually be at war with each other, wished for nothing so much as to send Charles home to his own dominions, but had not the least intention of furnishing him with an army. The Tartars were still for war, as an artificer is willing to seize every opportunity to exercise his calling. The janissaries likewise wished to be called into the field, but more out of hatred against the Christians, their naturally restless disposition, and from a fondness for rapine and licentiousness, than from any other motives. Nevertheless the English and Dutch ministers managed their negotiations so well that they prevailed over the opposite party; the Treaty of Pruth was confirmed, but with the addition of a new article, by which it was stipulated that the czar should withdraw his forces from Poland within three months, and that the sultan should immediately send Charles XII. out of his dominions.

We may judge from this new treaty whether the king of Sweden had that influence at the Porte which some writers would have us believe. He was evidently sacrificed on this occasion by the new vizier, Pasha Yusuf, as he had been before by

Baltagi Mahomet. The historians of his party could find no other expedient to color over this fresh affront, but that of accusing Yusuf of having been bribed like his predecessor. Such repeated imputations, unsupported by proofs, are rather the clamors of an impotent cabal than the testimonies of history. But faction, when driven to acknowledge facts, will ever endeavor to alter circumstances and motives; and unhappily it is thus that all the histories of our times will be handed down to posterity so altered that they will be unable to distinguish truth from falsehoods.

CHAPTER XXII.

MARRIAGE OF THE CZAREVITCH—THE MARRIAGE OF PETER AND CATHERINE PUBLICLY SOLEMNIZED—CATHERINE FINDS HER BROTHER.

THIS unsuccessful campaign of Pruth proved more hurtful to the czar than ever the battle of Narva was; for after that defeat he had found means not only to retrieve his losses, but also to wrest Ingria out of the hands of Charles XII., but by the Treaty of Falczio, in which he consented to give up to the sultan his forts and harbors on the Sea of Azov, he forever lost his projected superiority in the Black Sea. He had besides a great deal of work on his hands; his new establishments in Russia were to be perfected; he had to prosecute his victories over the Swede, to settle King Au-

gustus firmly on the Polish throne, and to manage affairs properly with the several powers with whom he was in alliance; but the fatigues he had undergone having impaired his health, he was obliged to go to Karlsbad to drink the waters of that place. While he was there he gave orders for his troops to enter Pomerania; they blockaded Stralsund, and took five other towns in the neighborhood.

Pomerania is the most northern province of Germany, bounded on the east by Prussia and Poland, on the west by Brandenburg, on the south by Mecklenburg, and on the north by the Baltic Sea. It has changed masters almost every century. Gustavus Adolphus got possession of it in his famous Thirty Years' War, and it was afterward solemnly ceded to the crown of Sweden by the Treaty of Westphalia, with a reservation of the little bishopric of Kammin, and a few other small towns lying in Upper Pomerania. The whole of this province properly belongs to the elector of Brandenburg, in virtue of a family compact made with the dukes of Pomerania, whose family being extinct in 1637, consequently by the laws of the empire the house of Brandenburg had an undoubted right to the succession; but necessity, the first of all laws, occasioned this family compact to be set aside by the Treaty of Osnabrück; after which almost the whole of Pomerania fell to the lot of the victorious Swedes.

The czar's intention was to wrest from Sweden all the provinces that crown possessed in Germany; and, in order to accomplish his design, he found it necessary to enter into a confederacy with the

electors of Hanover and Brandenburg and the king of Denmark. Peter drew up the several articles of the treaty he projected with these powers, and also a complete plan of the necessary operations for rendering him master of Pomerania.

In the meantime he went to Torgau on Oct. 23, 1711, to be present at the nuptials of his son, the czarevitch Alexis, with the princess of Wolfenbüttel, sister of the consort of Charles VI., emperor of Germany; nuptials which in the end proved fatal to his own peace of mind, and to the lives of the unfortunate pair.

The czarevitch was born of the first marriage of Peter the Great with Eudocia Lapoukin, to whom he was espoused in 1689; and who was at this time shut up in the monastery of Susdal; their son, Alexis Petrovitch, who was born March 1, 1690, was now in his twenty-second year. This prince was not then at all known in Europe. A minister, whose memoirs of the court of Russia have been printed, says in a letter he writes to his master, dated Aug. 25, 1711, that "this prince was tall and well made, resembled his father greatly, was of an excellent disposition, very pious, had read the Bible five times over, took great delight in the ancient Greek historians, appeared to have a very quick apprehension and understanding, was well acquainted with mathematics, the art of war, navigation, and hydraulics; that he understood the German language, and was then learning the French, but that his father would never suffer him to go through a regular course of study."

This character is very different from that which the czar himself gives of his son some time afterward, in which we shall see with how much grief he reproaches him with faults directly opposite to those good qualities for which this minister seems so much to admire him.

We must leave posterity to determine between the testimony of a stranger, who may have formed too slight a judgment, and the declaration of a parent, who thought himself under the necessity of sacrificing the dictates of nature to the good of his people. If the minister was no better acquainted with the disposition of Alexis than he seems to have been with his outward form, his evidence will have but little weight; for he describes this prince as tall and well made, whereas the memoirs sent me from St. Petersburg say that he was neither one nor the other.

His step-mother, Catherine, was not present at his nuptials; for though she was already looked upon as czarina, yet she had not been publicly acknowledged as such; and, moreover, as she had only the title of highness given her at the czar's court, her rank was not sufficiently settled to admit of her signing the contract, or to appear at the ceremony in a station befitting the consort of Peter the Great. She therefore remained at Thorn, in Polish Prussia. Soon after the nuptials were celebrated, the czar sent the newly-married couple away to Wolfenbüttel, and brought the czarina to St. Petersburg, on Jan. 9, 1712, with that despatch and privacy which he observed in all his journeys.

Having now disposed of his son, he, on Feb. 19, 1712, publicly solemnized his own nuptials with Catherine, which had been declared in private before. The ceremony was performed with as much magnificence as could be expected in a city but yet in its infancy, and from a revenue exhausted by the late destructive war against the Turks, and that which he was still engaged in against the king of Sweden. The czar gave orders for, and assisted in, all the preparations for the ceremony, according to his usual custom; and Catherine was now publicly declared czarina, in reward for having saved her husband and his whole army.

The acclamations with which this declaration was received at St. Petersburg were sincere; the applauses which subjects confer on the actions of a despotic sovereign are generally suspected; but on this occasion they were confirmed by the united voice of all the thinking part of Europe, who beheld with pleasure on the one hand the heir of a vast monarchy, with no other glory than that of his birth, married to a petty princess; and, on the other hand, a powerful conqueror, and a lawgiver, publicly sharing his bed and his throne with a stranger and a captive, who had nothing to recommend her but her merit; and this approbation became more general as the minds of men grew more enlightened by that sound philosophy which has made so great progress in our understandings within these last forty years; a philosophy, equally sublime and discerning, which teaches us to pay only the exterior respect to greatness and authority,

while we reserve our esteem and veneration for shining talents and meritorious services.

And here I feel obliged to relate what I have met with touching this marriage in the despatches of Count Bassewitz, Aulic councillor at Vienna, and long time minister from Holstein at the court of Russia; a person of great merit, and whose memory is still held in the highest esteem in Germany. In some of his letters he speaks thus: "The czarina had not only been the main instrument of procuring the czar that reputation which he enjoyed, but was likewise essentially necessary in the preservation of his life. This prince was unhappily subject to violent convulsions, which were thought to be the effect of poison which had been given him while he was young. Catherine alone had found the secret of alleviating his sufferings by an unwearied assiduity and attention to whatever she thought would please him, and made it the whole study of her life to preserve a health so valuable to the kingdom and to herself, insomuch that the czar, finding he could not live without her, made her the companion of his throne and bed." I here only repeat the express words of the writer himself.

Fortune, which has furnished us with many extraordinary scenes in this part of the world, and which had raised Catherine from the lowest abyss of misery and distress to the pinnacle of human grandeur, wrought another extraordinary incident in her favor some few years after her marriage with the czar, and which I find thus related in a curious manuscript of a person who was at that time in the

czar's service, and who speaks of it as a thing to which he was eye-witness.

An envoy from King Augustus to the court of Peter the Great, being on his return home through Courland, and having put up at an inn by the way, heard the voice of a person who seemed in great distress, and whom the people of the house were treating in that insulting manner which is but too common on such occasions; the stranger, in a tone of resentment, made answer that they would not dare to use him thus if he could but once get to the speech of the czar, at whose court he had perhaps more powerful protectors than they imagined.

The envoy, upon hearing this, had a curiosity to ask the man some questions, and from certain answers he let fall, and a close examination of his face, he thought he found in him some resemblance to the empress Catherine; and when he came to Dresden, he could not forbear writing to one of his friends at St. Petersburg concerning it. This letter, by accident, came to the czar's hands, who immediately sent an order to Prince Repnin, then governor of Riga, to endeavor to find out the person mentioned in the letter. Prince Repnin immediately despatched a messenger to Mitau in Courland, who on inquiry, found out the man, and learned that his name was Charles Scavronsky; that he was the son of a Lithuanian gentleman, who had been killed in the wars of Poland, and had left two children then in the cradle, a boy and a girl, who had neither of them received any other education than that which simple nature gives to those who are abandoned by

the world. Scavronsky, who had been parted from his sister while they were both infants, knew nothing further of her than that she had been taken prisoner in Marienburg, in the year 1704, and supposed her to be still in the household of Prince Menshikoff, where he imagined she might have made some little fortune.

Prince Repnin, obeying the particular orders he had received from the czar, caused Scavronsky to be seized, and conducted to Riga, under pretence of some crime laid to his charge; and to make it more plausible, on his arrival there, a sham information was drawn up against him, and he was sent to St. Petersburg, under a strong guard, with orders to treat him well on the road.

When he came to that capital, he was carried to the house of an officer of the emperor's palace, named Shepleff, who having been previously instructed in the part he was to play, drew several circumstances from the young man in relation to his condition; and, after some time, told him that, although the information which had been sent up from Riga against him was of a serious nature, yet he would have justice done him; but that it would be necessary to present a petition to his majesty for that purpose; that one should accordingly be drawn up in his name, and that he (Shepleff) would find means to deliver it into the czar's own hands.

The next day the czar came to dine with Shepleff at his own house, who presented Scavronsky to him; when his majesty, after asking him many questions, was convinced, by the natural answers he gave, that

he was really the czarina's brother; they had both lived in Livonia when young, and the czar found everything that Scavronsky said to him, in relation to his family affairs, to tally exactly with what his wife had told him concerning her brother, and the misfortunes which had befallen her and her brother in the earlier part of their lives.

The czar, now satisfied of the truth, proposed the next day to the empress to go and dine with him at Shepleff's; and when dinner was over, he gave orders that the man whom he had examined the day before, should be brought in again. Accordingly he was introduced, dressed in the same clothes he had worn while on his journey from Riga, the czar not being willing that he should appear in any other garb than what his unhappy circumstances had accustomed him to.

He interrogated him again in the presence of his wife; and the narrative adds, that, at the end, he turned about to the empress, and said these very words: "This man is your brother; come hither, Charles, and kiss the hand of the empress, and embrace your sister."

The author of this narrative adds further, that the empress fainted away with surprise; and that when she revived, the czar said to her: "There is nothing in this but what is very natural. This gentleman is my brother-in-law; if he has merit, we will make something of him; if he has not, we must leave him as he is."

I am of opinion that this speech shows as much greatness as simplicity, and a greatness not very

common. My author says that Scavronsky remained a considerable time at Shepleff's house; that the czar assigned him a handsome pension, but that he led a very retired life. He carries his relation of this adventure no further, as he made use of it only to disclose the secret of Catherine's brother; but we know, from other authorities, that this gentleman was afterward created a count; that he married a young lady of quality, by whom he had two daughters, who were married to two of the principal noblemen in Russia. I leave to those who may be better informed of the particulars, to distinguish what is fact in this relation, from what may have been added, and shall only say that the author does not seem to have told this story out of a fondness for entertaining his readers with the marvellous, since his papers were not intended to be published. He is writing freely to a friend about a thing of which he says he was an eye-witness. He may have been mistaken in some circumstances, but the fact itself has all the appearance of truth; for if this gentleman had known that his sister was raised to so great dignity and power, he would not certainly have remained so many years without having made himself known to her. And this discovery, however extraordinary it may seem, is certainly not more so than the exaltation of Catherine herself; and both the one and the other are striking proofs of the force of destiny, and may teach us to be cautious how we treat as fabulous several events of antiquity, which perhaps are less contradictory to the common order of things than the adventures of this empress.

The rejoicings made by Czar Peter for his own marriage and that of his son were not of the nature of those transient amusements which exhaust the public treasure, and are presently lost in oblivion. He completed his grand foundry for cannon, and finished the admiralty buildings. The highways were repaired, several ships built, and others put upon the stocks; new canals were dug, and the finishing touches put to the grand warehouses and other public buildings, and the trade of St. Petersburg began to flourish. He issued an ordinance for removing the senate from Moscow to St. Petersburg, which was executed in the month of April, 1712. By this step he made his new city the capital of the empire, and he employed a number of Swedish prisoners in beautifying this city, whose foundation had been laid upon their defeat.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TAKING OF STETTIN—DESCENT UPON FINLAND—EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1712.

PETER, now seeing himself happy in his own family, and in his state, and successful in his war against Charles XII., and in the several negotiations which he had entered into with other powers, who were resolved to assist him in driving out the Swedes from the continent, and cooping them up forever within the peninsula of Scandinavia, began to turn his attention toward the northwest

coasts of Europe, not laying aside all thoughts of the Sea of Azov, and the Black Sea. The keys of Azov, which has been so long withheld from the pasha, who was to have taken possession of that place for the sultan, were now given up, and, notwithstanding all the endeavors of the king of Sweden, the intrigues of his friends at the Ottoman Porte, and even some menaces of a new war on the part of the Turks, both that nation and the Russian Empire continued at peace.

Charles XII., still obstinate in his resolution not to depart from Bender, tamely submitted his hopes and fortunes to the caprice of a grand vizier, while the czar was threatening all his provinces, arming against him the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, and had almost persuaded the king of Prussia, and even the Poles and Saxons, to declare openly for him.

Charles, ever of the same inflexible disposition, behaved in a similar manner toward his enemies, who now seemed united to overwhelm him, as he had done in all his transactions with the Ottoman Porte; and from his lurking-place in the deserts of Bessarabia, defied the czar, the kings of Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, the elector of Hanover—soon afterward king of England—and the emperor of Germany, whom he had so greatly offended, when he was traversing Silesia with his victorious troops, and who now showed his resentment, by abandoning him to his ill-fortune, and refused to take under his protection any of those countries which as yet belonged to the Swedes in Germany.

It would have been no difficult matter for him to have broken the league which was forming against him, had he consented to cede Stettin, in Pomerania, to Frederick I., king of Prussia, and elector of Brandenburg, who had a lawful claim thereto; but Charles did not then regard Prussia as a power of any consequence; and indeed neither he nor any other person, could at that time foresee, that this petty kingdom, and the electorate of Brandenburg, either of which were little better than deserts, would one day become formidable. Charles, therefore, would not listen to any proposal, but, determined to take all, rather than give up anything, sent orders to the regency of Stockholm to make all possible resistance both by sea and land; and these orders were obeyed, notwithstanding that his dominions were almost exhausted of men and money. The senate of Stockholm fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, and every person capable of bearing arms came voluntarily to offer service; in a word, the inflexible courage and pride of Charles seemed to be infused into all his subjects, who were almost as unfortunate as their master.

It can hardly be supposed that Charles's conduct was formed upon any regular plan. He had still a powerful party in Poland, which, assisted by the Crim Tartars, might indeed have desolated that wretched country, but could not have replaced Stanislaus on the throne; and his hopes of engaging the Ottoman Porte to espouse his cause, or convincing the divan that it was their interest to send twelve thousand men to the assistance of his friends,

under pretence that the czar was supporting his ally Augustus in Poland, was vain and chimerical.

Nevertheless, he continued still at Bender, to wait the issue of these vain projects, while the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, were overrunning Pomerania. Peter took his wife with him on this expedition. The king of Denmark had already made himself master of Stade, a seaport town in the duchy of Bremen, and the united forces of Russia, Saxony, and Denmark were already before Stralsund.

In October, 1712, King Stanislaus, seeing the deplorable state of so many provinces, the impossibility of his recovering the crown of Poland, and the universal confusion occasioned by the inflexibility of Charles, called a meeting of the Swedish generals, who were defending Pomerania with an army of eleven thousand men, as the last resource they had left in those provinces.

When they were assembled, he proposed to them to make their terms with King Augustus, offering himself to be the victim of this reconciliation. On this occasion, he made the following speech to them in the French language, which he afterward left in writing, and which was signed by nine general officers, among whom happened to be one Patkul, cousin german to the unfortunate Patkul, who lost his life on the wheel by the order of Charles XII.

"Having been hitherto the instruments of procuring glory to the Swedish army, I cannot think of proving the cause of their ruin. I therefore declare myself ready to sacrifice the crown, and my personal interests, to the preservation of the sacred

person of their king, as I can see no other method of releasing him from the place where he now is."

Having made this declaration—which is here given in his own words—he prepared to set out for Turkey, in hope of being able to soften the inflexible temper of his benefactor, by the sacrifice he had made for him. His ill fortune would have it that he arrived in Bessarabia at the very time that Charles, after having given his word to the sultan that he would depart from Bender, and having received the necessary remittances for his journey, and an escort for his person, took the mad resolution to continue there, and opposed a whole army of Turks and Tartars, with only his own domestics. The former, though they might easily have killed him, contented themselves with taking him prisoner. At this very juncture, Stanislaus arriving, was seized himself, so that two Christian kings were prisoners at one time in Turkey.

At this time, when all Europe was in commotion, and France had just terminated a war equally fatal against one part thereof, in order to settle the grandson of Louis XIV. on the throne of Spain, England gave peace to France, and the victory gained by Marshal Villars at Denain, in Flanders, saved that state from its other enemies. France had been for more than a century the ally of Sweden, and it was to the interest of the former that its ally should not be stripped of his possessions in Germany. Charles unhappily was at such a distance from his dominions that he did not even know what was occurring in France.

The regency of Stockholm, by a desperate effort, ventured to demand a sum of money from the French court at a time when its finances were at so low an ebb that Louis XIV. had hardly money enough to pay his household-servants. Count Sparre was sent with a commission to negotiate this loan, in which it was not to be supposed he would succeed. However, on his arrival at Versailles, he represented to the marquis de Torci the inability of the regency to pay the little army which Charles had still remaining in Pomerania, and which was ready to break up and dispute of itself an account of the long arrears due to the men; and that France was on the point of beholding the only ally she had left deprived of those provinces which were so necessary to preserve the balance of power; that indeed Charles had not been altogether so attentive to the interests of France in the course of his conquests as might have been expected, but that the magnanimity of Louis XIV. was at least equal to the misfortunes of his royal brother and ally. The French minister, in answer to this speech, so effectually set forth the incapacity of his court to furnish the requested aid, that Count Sparre despaired of success.

It so happened, however, that a private individual advanced what Sparre had lost all hopes of obtaining from the court. There was at that time in Paris a banker named Samuel Bernard, who had accumulated an immense fortune by making remittances for the government to foreign countries, and other private contracts. This man was intoxicated

with a species of pride very rarely to be met with in people of his profession. He was immoderately fond of everything that made an *éclat,* and knew very well that at one time or another the government would repay with interest those who hazarded their fortune to supply its exigencies. Count Sparre went one day to dine with him, and took care to flatter his foible so well that before they rose from table the banker put six hundred thousand livres into his hand; and then immediately waiting on the marquis de Torci, he said to him: "I have lent the crown of Sweden six hundred thousand livres in your name, which you must repay me when you are able."

Count Steinbock, who at that time commanded Charles's army in Pomerania, little expected so seasonable a supply; and seeing his troops, to whom he had nothing to give but promises, ready to mutiny, and that the storm was gathering fast upon him, and being moreover apprehensive of being surrounded by the three different armies of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, desired a cessation of arms, on the supposition that Stanislaus's abdication would soften the obstinacy of Charles, and that the only way left for him to save the forces under his command was by delaying negotiations. He therefore despatched a courier to Bender, to represent to the king of Sweden the desperate state of his finances and affairs, and the situation of the army, and to acquaint him that he had, under these circumstances, found himself necessitated to apply for a cessation of arms, which he should think himself

very happy to obtain. The courier had not been despatched more than three days, and Stanislaus had not yet set out on his journey to Bender, when Sparre received the six hundred thousand livres from the French banker above-mentioned; a sum which was at that time an immense treasure in a country so desolated. Thus unexpectedly reinforced with money, which is the grand panacea for all disorders of state, Steinbock found means to revive the drooping spirits of his soldiery; he supplied them with all they wanted, raised new recruits, and in a short time saw himself at the head of twelve thousand men, and dropping his former intention of procuring a suspension of arms, he sought only for an opportunity of engaging the enemy.

This was the same Steinbock, who, in the year 1710, after the defeat at Poltava, had avenged the Swedes on the Danes by the raid he made into Scania, where he defeated them with only a few militia, whom he had hastily gathered together, with their arms girded on them with ropes. He was like all the other generals of Charles XII., active and enterprising; but his valor was sullied by his brutality; as an instance of which it will be sufficient to relate, that having, after an engagement with the Russians, given orders to kill all the prisoners, and perceiving a Polish officer in the service of the czar who had caught hold of King Stanislaus's stirrup, then on horseback, in order to save his life, Steinbock shot him dead in that prince's arms, as has been already mentioned in the life of Charles XII., and King Stanislaus has declared to the author

of this history that, had he not been withheld by his respect and gratitude to the king of Sweden, he should have shot Steinbock dead upon the spot.

General Steinbock now marched by the way of Wismar to meet the combined forces of Russians, Danes, and Saxons, and soon found himself near the Danish and Saxon army, which was in advance of the Russians about three leagues. The czar sent three couriers, one after another, to the king of Denmark, beseeching him to await his coming up, and thereby avoid the danger which threatened him if he attempted to engage the Swedes with an equality of force; but the Danish monarch, unwilling to share with any one the honor of a victory which he thought sure, advanced to meet the Swedish general, whom he attacked near a place called Gadebusch. This day's affair gave a further proof of the natural enmity that subsisted between the Swedes and Danes. The officers of these two nations fought with most unparalleled obstinacy against one another, and neither side would desist till death terminated the dispute.

Steinbock gained a complete victory before the Russian army could come up to the assistance of the Danes, and the next day received an order from Charles to lay aside all thoughts of a suspension of arms, who at the same time upbraided him for having entertained an idea so injurious to his honor, and for which he told him he could make no reparation, but by conquering or perishing. Steinbock had happily obviated the orders and the reproach by the victory he had gained.

But this victory was like that which had formerly brought such a transient consolation to King Augustus, when in the torrent of his misfortunes he gained the battle of Kalioz against the Swedes, who were conquerors in every other place, and which only served to aggravate his situation, as this of Gadebusch only procrastinated the ruin of Steinbock and his army.

When the king of Sweden received the news of Steinbock's success, he looked upon his affairs as retrieved, and even flattered himself with hopes of engaging the Ottoman Porte to declare for him, who at that time seemed disposed to come to a new rupture with the czar; full of these fond imaginations, he sent orders to General Steinbock to fall upon Poland, being still ready to believe, upon the least shadow of success, that the day of Narva, and those in which he gave laws to his enemies, were again returned. But unhappily he too soon found these flattering hopes utterly blasted by the affair of Bender, and his own captivity among the Turks.

The whole fruits of the victory of Gadebusch were confined to surprising and reducing to ashes the town of Altena, inhabited by traders and manufacturers, a place wholly defenceless, and which, not having been in arms, should, by all the laws of war and nations, have been spared; however, it was utterly destroyed, several of the inhabitants perished in the flames, others escaped with their lives, but naked, and a number of old men, women, and children, perished of cold and the fatigue they suffered, at the gates of Hamburg. Such has too often

been the fate of thousands of men for the quarrels of two only; and this cruel advantage was the only one gained by Steinbock; for the Russians, Danes, and Saxons pursued him so closely that he was obliged to beg for an asylum in Tönning, a fortress in the duchy of Holstein, for himself and army.

This duchy was at that time subjected to the most cruel ravages of any part of the North, and its sovereign was the most miserable of all princes. He was a nephew of Charles XII., and it was on account of his father, who had married Charles's sister, that that monarch carried his arms even into the heart of Copenhagen, before the battle of Narva, and for whom he likewise made the Treaty of Travendal, by which the dukes of Holstein were restored to their rights.

This country was in part the cradle of the Cimbri and of the old Normans, who overran the province of Neustria in France, and conquered all England, Naples, and Sicily; and yet at present no state pretends less to make conquests than this part of the ancient Cimbrica Chersonesus, which consists only of two petty duchies; namely, that of Schleswig, belonging in common to the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein, and that of Gottorp, appertaining to the duke alone. Schleswig is a sovereign principality; Holstein is a branch of the German Empire, called the Roman Empire.

The king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp were of the same family; but the duke, nephew of Charles XII., and presumptive heir to his crown, was the natural enemy of the king of Den-

mark, who had endeavored to crush him in the very cradle. One of his father's brothers, who was bishop of Lübeck, and administrator of the dominions of his unfortunate ward, now beheld himself in the midst of the Swedish army, whom he dared not assist, and those of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, that threatened his country with daily destruction. Nevertheless, he thought himself obliged to try to save Charles's army, if he could do it without irritating the king of Denmark, who had made himself master of his country, which he exhausted by raising continual contributions.

This bishop and administrator was entirely governed by the famous baron Goertz, the most artful and enterprising man of his age, endowed with a genius amazingly penetrating, and fruitful in every resource; with talents equal to the boldest and most arduous attempts, he was as insinuating in his negotiations as he was hardy in his projects; he had the art of pleasing and persuading in the highest degree, and knew how to captivate all hearts by the vivacity of his genius, after he had won them by the softness of his eloquence. He afterward gained ascendency over Charles XII. as great as he had then over the bishop; and all the world knows that he paid with his life the honor he had of governing the most ungovernable and obstinate prince that ever sat upon a throne.

Goertz had a private conference with General Steinbock, at which he promised to deliver him up the fortress of Tönning, without exposing the bishop-administrator, his master, to any danger, and

at the same time gave the strongest assurances to the king of Denmark that he would defend the place to the utmost. In this manner are almost all negotiations carried on, affairs of state being of a very different nature from those of private persons; the honor of ministers consisting wholly in success, and those of private persons in the observance of their promises.

General Steinbock presented himself before Tönning; the commandant refused to open the gates to him, and by this means put it out of the king of Denmark's power to allege any cause of complaint against the bishop-administrator; but Goertz caused an order to be given in the name of the young duke —a minor—to suffer the Swedish army to enter the town. The secretary of the cabinet, named Stamke, signed this order in the name of the duke of Holstein; by this means Goertz preserved the honor of an infant who had not as yet any power to issue orders; and he at once served the king of Sweden, whom he was desirous of pleasing, and the bishop-administrator, his master, who appeared not to have consented to the admission of the Swedish troops. The governor of Tönning, who was easily gained, delivered up the town to the Swedes, and Goertz excused himself as well as he could to the king of Denmark, by protesting that the whole had been transacted without his consent.

The Swedes retired partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town: but this did not save them: for General Steinbock was obliged to surrender his whole army, to the number of

eleven thousand men, in the same manner as about sixteen thousand of their countrymen had done at the battle of Poltava.

By this convention it was agreed that Steinbock, with his officers and men, might be ransomed or exchanged. The price for the general's ransom was fixed at eight thousand German crowns; a very trifling sum, which Steinbock, however, was not able to raise; so that he remained a prisoner in Copenhagen till the day of his death.

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conqueror. The young duke became the object of the king of Denmark's vengeance, and was fated to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name: thus did the ill fortune of Charles XII. fall upon all his family.

Goertz, perceiving his projects thus dissipated, and being still resolved to act a distinguished part in the general confusion of affairs, recalled to mind a scheme which he had formed to establish a neutrality in the Swedish territories in Germany.

The king of Denmark was ready to take possession of Tönning; George, elector of Hanover, was about to seize Bremen and Verden, with the city of Stade; the new-made king of Prussia, Frederick William, cast his eye upon Stettin, and Czar Peter was preparing to make himself master of Finland; and all the territories of Charles XII., those of Sweden excepted, were going to become the spoils of those who wanted to share them. How, then, could so many different interests be rendered compatible with a neutrality? Goertz entered into negotiation

at one and the same time with all the several princes who had any interest in this partition; he continued night and day passing from one province to the other; he engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover by way of sequestration, so that the Danes should not take possession of them for themselves: he prevailed on the king of Prussia to accept jointly with the duke of Holstein, of the sequestration of Stettin and Wismar, in consideration of which the king of Denmark was not to act against Holstein, nor to enter Tönning. It was most certainly a strange way of serving Charles XII., to put his towns into the hands of those who might never restore them; but Goertz, by delivering these places to them as pledges, bound them to a neutrality, at least for some time; and he hoped to be able to bring Hanover and Brandenburg to declare for Sweden: he prevailed on the king of Prussia, whose ruined dominions stood in need of peace, to enter into his plans, and in short he found means to render himself necessary to all these princes, and disposed of the possessions of Charles XII. like a guardian, who gives up one part of his ward's estate to preserve the other, and of a ward incapable of managing his affairs himself; and all this without any regular authority or commission, or other warrant for his conduct, than full power given him by the bishop of Lübeck, who had no authority to grant such powers from Charles himself.

Such was Baron Goertz, and such his actions, which have not hitherto become sufficiently known.

There have been instances of an Oxenstiern, a Richelieu, and an Alberoni, influencing the affairs of all parts of Europe; but that the privy counsellor of a bishop of Lübeck should do the same as they, without his conduct being avowed by any one, is a thing hitherto unheard of.

Nevertheless, he succeeded in the beginning, for in June, 1713, he made a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which that monarch engaged, on condition of keeping Stettin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles XII. In virtue of this treaty, Goertz made a proposal to the governor of Pomerania to give up the fortress of Stettin to the king of Prussia for the sake of peace, thinking that the Swedish governor of Stettin would prove as easy to be persuaded as the Holsteiner who had the command of Tönning; but the officers of Charles XII. were not accustomed to obey such orders. Mayerfeld made answer, that no one should enter Stettin but over his dead body and the ruins of the place, and immediately sent notice to his master, of the strange proposal. The messenger found Charles a prisoner at Demotica, in consequence of his adventure at Bender, and it was doubtful at that time, whether he would not remain all his life in confinement in Turkey, or else be banished to some of the islands in the archipelago, or some part of Asia under the dominion of the Ottoman Porte. However, Charles, from his prison, sent the same orders to Mayerfeld as he had before done to Steinbock; namely, rather to perish than to submit to his

enemies, and even commanded him to take his inflexibility for his example.

Goertz, finding that the governor of Stettin had baffled his measures, and would neither hearken to a neutrality nor a sequestration, undertook not only to sequester the town of Stettin of his own authority, but also the city of Stralsund, and found means to make a treaty with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, for that place, similar to that he had made with the elector of Brandenburg for Stettin. He clearly saw how impossible it would be for the Swedes to keep possession of those places without either men or money, while their king was a captive in Turkey, and he thought himself sure of turning aside the scourge of war from the North by means of these sequestrations. The king of Denmark himself at length gave in to the projects of Goertz: the latter had gained an entire ascendency over Prince Menshikoff, the czar's general and favorite, whom he had persuaded that the duchy of Holstein must be ceded to his master, and flattered the czar with the prospect of opening a canal from Holstein into the Baltic Sea; an enterprise perfectly conformable to the inclination and views of this royal founder; and above all, he labored to insinuate to him that he might obtain a new increase of power, by condescending to become one of the powers of the empire, which would entitle him to a vote in the Diet of Ratisbon, a right that he might afterward forever maintain by that of arms.

In a word, no one could put on more different

appearances, adapt himself to more opposite interests, or act a more complicated part, than did this skilful negotiator; he even went so far as to engage Prince Menshikoff to ruin the very town of Stettin, by bombarding it, in order to force Mayerfeld to sequester it into his hands, and offered this unpardonable insult to the king of Sweden, whose good graces he was trying to gain; and in which, at length, to his misfortune, he succeeded but too well.

When the king of Prussia saw a Russian army before Stettin, he found that place would be lost to him, and remain in the possession of the czar. This was just what Goertz expected and waited for. Prince Menshikoff was in want of money; Goertz got the king of Prussia to lend him four hundred thousand crowns: he afterward sent a message to the governor of the place, to know of him whether he would rather see Stettin in ashes, and under the dominion of Russia, or trust it in the hands of the king of Prussia, who would engage to restore it to the king, his master? The commandant at length suffered himself to be persuaded, and gave up the place, which Menshikoff entered, and, in consideration of the four hundred thousand crowns, delivered it afterward, together with all the territories thereto adjoining, into the hands of the king of Prussia, who, for form's sake, left therein two battalions of the troops of Holstein, and has never since restored that part of Pomerania.

From this period, the second king of Prussia, successor to a weak and prodigal father, laid the

foundation of that greatness to which his state has since arrived, by military discipline and economy.

Baron Goertz, who put so many springs in motion, could not succeed in prevailing on the Danes to spare the duchy of Holstein, or forbear taking possession of Tönning. He failed in what appeared to have been his first object, though he succeeded in all his other views, and particularly in that of making himself the most important personage of the North, which indeed was his principal object.

The elector of Hanover then had secured to himself Bremen and Verden, of which Charles XII. was now stripped. The Saxon army was before Wismar; Stettin was in the hands of the king of Prussia; the Russians were ready to lay siege to Stralsund, in conjunction with the Saxons; and the latter had already landed in the island of Rügen, and the czar, in the midst of the numberless negotiations on all sides, while others were disputing about neutralities and partitions, made a descent upon Finland. After having himself pointed the artillery against Stralsund, he left the rest to the care of his allies and Prince Menshikoff, and embarking in the month of May, on the Baltic Sea, on board a ship of fifty guns, which he himself caused to be built at St. Petersburg, he sailed for the coast of Finland, followed by a fleet of ninety-two whole, and one hundred and ten half galleys, having on board nearly sixteen thousand troops. He made his descent at Helsingfors, May 22, 1713, the most southern part of that cold and barren country, lying in sixty-one degrees north latitude; and notwithstanding the

difficulties he had to encounter, succeeded in his design. He caused a feint to be made on one side of the harbor, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He then made himself master of the whole coast. The Swedes now seemed not to have any resource left; for it was at this very time that their army, under the command of General Steinbock, was obliged to surrender at Tönning.

These repeated disasters which befell Charles, were, as we have already shown, followed by the loss of Bremen, Verden, Stettin, and a part of Pomerania; and that prince himself, with his ally and friend, Stanislaus, were afterward both prisoners in Turkey: nevertheless he was not to be undeceived in the flattering notion he had entertained of returning to Poland, at the head of an Ottoman army, replacing Stanislaus on the throne, and once again making his enemies tremble.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SUCCESSES OF PETER THE GREAT—RETURN OF CHARLES XII. INTO HIS DOMINIONS.

PETER, while he was following the course of his conquests, completed the establishment of his navy, brought twelve thousand families to settle in St. Petersburg, kept all his allies firm to his person and fortunes, notwithstanding they had all different interests and opposite views; and with his fleet, kept

in awe all the seaports of Sweden on the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia.

Prince Golitzin, one of his land-generals, whom he had selected himself, as he had done all his other officers, advanced from Helsingfors, where the czar had made his descent into the midst of the country, near the village of Tavastehus, which was a post that commanded the Gulf of Bothnia, and was defended by a few Swedish regiments, and about eight thousand militia. In this situation, a battle was unavoidable, the event of which proved favorable to the Russians, who, on March 13, 1714, easily routed the whole Swedish army, and penetrated as far as Vaza, so that they were now masters of about eighty leagues of country.

The Swedes were still in possession of a fleet, with which they kept the sea; Peter had, for a considerable time, waited with impatience for an opportunity of establishing the reputation of his new marine. Accordingly he set out from St. Petersburg, and having got together a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, and one hundred and eighty galleys, fit for working among the rocks and shoals that surround the island of Aland, and the other islands in the Baltic Sea, bordering upon the Swedish coast, he fell in with the fleet of that nation near their own shores. This armament greatly exceeded his in the size of the ships, but was inferior in the number of galleys, and better suited for engaging in the open sea than among rocks or near the shore. The advantage the czar had in this respect was entirely owing to himself. He served in the capacity of rear-

admiral on board his own fleet, and received all the necessary orders from Admiral Apraxin. Peter resolved to make himself master of the island of Aland, which lies only twelve leagues off the Swedish coast; and though obliged to pass full in view of the enemy's fleet, he effected this bold and hazardous enterprise. His galleys forced a passage through the enemy, whose cannon did not fire low enough to hurt them, and approached Aland; but as that coast is almost surrounded with rocks, the czar caused eighty small galleys to be transported by men, over a point of land, and launched beyond near a place called Hangö Udde, where his large ships were at anchor. Erenschild, the Swedish rear-admiral, thinking that he might easily take or sink all these galleys, stood in shore, in order to reconnoitre their situation, but was received with so brisk a fire from the Russian fleet, that most of his men were killed or wounded; and all the galleys and praams he had brought with him were taken, together with his own ship. The admiral endeavored to escape in a boat; but being wounded, was obliged to surrender, and was brought on board the galley which the czar was navigating himself. The scattered remnant of the Swedish fleet made the best of its way home; and the news of this accident threw all Stockholm into confusion, which now began to tremble for its own safety.

Much about the same time, Colonel Schouvaloff Neuschlof attacked the only remaining fortress on the western side of Finland, and made himself mas-

ter of it, after a most obstinate resistance on the part of the besieged.

This affair of Aland was, next to that of Poltava, the most glorious that had distinguished the arms of Peter the Great, who now saw himself master of Finland, the government of which he committed to Prince Golitzin, and returned to St. Petersburg victorious over the whole naval force of Sweden, and more than ever respected by his allies; the stormy season now approaching, not permitting him to remain longer with his ships in the outer waters. His good fortune also brought him back to his capital just as the czarina was brought to bed of a princess, who died, however, about a year afterward. He then instituted the Order of St. Catherine, in honor of his consort, and celebrated the birth of his daughter by a triumphal entry, which was, of all the festivals to which he had accustomed his subjects, that which they held in the greatest esteem. This ceremony was ushered in by bringing nine Swedish galleys and seven praams filled with prisoners, and Rear-Admiral Erenschild's own ship, into the harbor of Kronstadt.

The cannon, colors, and standards taken in the expedition to Finland, and which had come home in the Russian admiral's ship, were brought on this occasion to St. Petersburg, and entered that metropolis in order of battle. A triumphal arch which the czar had caused to be erected, and which, as usual, was made from a model of his own, was decorated with the insignia of his conquests. Under this arch the victors marched in procession, with Admiral

Apraxin at their head; then followed the czar in quality of rear-admiral, and the other officers according to their several ranks. They were all presented one after another to Vice-Admiral Rodamonoski, who, at this ceremony, represented the sovereign. This temporary vice-emperor distributed gold medals among all the officers, and others of silver to the soldiers and sailors. The Swedish prisoners passed under the triumphal arch, and Admiral Erenschild followed immediately after the czar, his conqueror. When they came to the place where the vice-czar was seated on his throne, Admiral Apraxin presented to him Rear-Admiral Peter, who demanded to be made vice-admiral, in reward for his services. It was then put to vote, if his request should be granted; and it may easily be conceived that he had the majority on his side.

After this ceremony was over, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, with a love for his country, and a thirst for fame, the czar made the following speech to those present; a speech which deserves to be transmitted to posterity.

"Countrymen and friends, what man is there among you, who could have thought, twenty years ago, that we should one day fight together on the Baltic Sea, in ships built by our own hands; and that we should establish settlements in countries conquered by our own labors and valor? Greece is said to have been the ancient seat of the arts and sciences: they afterward took up their abode in Italy, whence they spread themselves through every

part of Europe. It is now our turn to call them ours, if you will second my designs, by joining study to obedience. The arts circulate in this globe, as the blood does in the human body; and perhaps they may establish their empire amongst us, after their return to Greece, their mother country; and I even venture to hope that we may one day put the most civilized nations to the blush, by our noble labors, and the solid glory resulting therefrom."

Here is the true substance of this speech, so worthy of a great founder, and which has lost its chief beauties in this, and every other translation; but the principal merit of this eloquent harangue is its having been spoken by a victorious monarch, at once the founder and lawgiver of his empire.

The old boyars listened to this speech with greater regret for the abolition of their ancient customs than admiration of their master's glory; but the young ones could not hear him without tears of joy.

The splendor of these times was further heightened by the return, on Sept. 15, 1714, of the Russian ambassadors from Constantinople, with a confirmation of the peace with the Turks: an ambassador sent by Pasha Hussein to Russia, had arrived some time before with a present to the czar of an elephant and five lions. He received at the same time an ambassador from Mahomet Bahadur, khan of the Usbeg Tartars, requesting his protection against another tribe of Tartars; so that both extremities of Asia and Europe seemed to join to offer him homage, and add to his glory.

The regency of Stockholm, driven to despair by the desperate situation of their affairs, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution to consult him no more in relation to their proceedings; and immediately after the victory which the czar gained over their navy, they sent to the conqueror to demand a passport for an officer charged with proposals of peace. The passport was sent; but just as the person appointed to carry on the negotiation was on the point of setting out, Princess Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles XII., received advice from the king that he was preparing, at length, to quit Turkey, and return home to fight his own battles. Upon this news the regency did not dare send the negotiator—whom they had already privately named—to the czar; and therefore resolved to support their ill-fortune till the arrival of Charles to retrieve it.

In fact, Charles, after a stay of five years and some months in Turkey, set out from that kingdom in the latter end of October, 1714. Everyone knows that he observed the singularity in his journey which characterized all the actions of his life. He arrived at Stralsund on November 22d. As soon as he got there, Baron Goertz came to pay his court to him; and though he had been the instrument of one part of his misfortunes, yet he justified his conduct with so much art, and filled the imagination of Charles with such flattering hopes, that he gained his confidence, as he had already done that of every other minister and prince with whom he had entered into

any negotiations. In short, he made him believe that means might be found to draw off the czar's allies, and thereby procure an honorable peace, or at least to carry on the war on an equal footing; and from this time Goertz gained a greater ascendency over the mind of the king of Sweden than ever Count Piper had.

The first thing which Charles did after his arrival at Stralsund, was to demand a supply of money from the citizens of Stockholm, who readily parted with what little they had left, as not being able to refuse anything to a king, who asked only to bestow, who lived as hard as the meanest soldier, and exposed his life equally in defence of his country. His misfortunes, his captivity, his return to his dominions, so long deprived of his presence, were arguments which prepossessed his own subjects and foreigners in his favor, who could not forbear at once to blame and admire, to compassionate and to assist him. His reputation was of a kind totally differing from that of Peter the Great; it consisted not in cherishing the arts and sciences, in enacting laws, in establishing a form of government, nor in introducing commerce among his subjects; it was confined entirely to his own person. He placed his chief merit in a valor superior to what is commonly called courage. He defended his dominions with a greatness of soul equal to that valor, and aimed only to inspire other nations with awe and respect for him: hence he had more partisans than allies.

CHAPTER XXV.

EUROPE AT THE RETURN OF CHARLES XII.—SIEGE OF STRALSUND.

WHEN Charles XII. returned to his dominions in 1714, he found the state of affairs in Europe very different from that in which he had left them. Queen Anne of England was dead, after having made peace with France. Louis XIV. had secured the monarchy of Spain for his grandson, the duke of Anjou, and had obliged Emperor Charles VI. and the Dutch to agree to a peace, which their situation rendered necessary to them, so that the affairs of Europe had put on altogether a new face.

Those of the North had undergone a still greater change. Peter was sole arbiter in that part of the world; the elector of Hanover, who had been called to fill the British throne, had plans of extending his territories in Germany, at the expense of Sweden, which had never had any possessions in that country, until after the reign of the great Gustavus. The king of Denmark aimed at recovering Scania, the best province of Sweden, which had formerly belonged to the Danes. The king of Prussia, as heir to the dukes of Pomerania, laid claim to a part of that province. On the other hand, the Holstein family, oppressed by the king of Denmark, and the duke of Mecklenburg, almost at open war with his subjects, were begging Peter the Great to take them under his protection. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was anxious to have the duchy of Courland annexed to Poland; so that, from the Elbe to

the Baltic Sea, Peter I. was considered as the support of the several crowned heads, as Charles XII. had been their greatest terror.

Many negotiations were set on foot after the return of Charles to his dominions, but nothing had been done. That prince thought he could raise a sufficient number of ships of war and privateers to put a stop to the rising power of the czar by sea; with respect to the land war, he depended on his own valor; and Goertz, who had suddenly become his prime minister, persuaded him that he might find means to defray the expense, by coining copper money, to be taken at ninety-six times less than its real value, a thing unparalleled in the history of any state; but in April, 1715, the first Swedish privateers that put to sea were taken by the czar's men-of-war, and a Russian army marched into the heart of Pomerania.

The Prussians, Danes, and Saxons now sat down with their united forces before Stralsund, and Charles XII. beheld himself returned from his confinement at Demotica, on the Black Sea, only to be more closely pent up on the borders of the Baltic.

We have already shown, in the history of this extraordinary man, with what haughty and unembarrassed resolution he braved the united forces of his enemies in Stralsund; and shall therefore, in this place, only add a single circumstance, which, though trivial, may serve to show the peculiarity of his character. The greater part of his officers having been either killed or wounded during the siege, the duty fell hard upon the few who were left.

Baron de Reichel, a colonel, having sustained a long engagement upon the ramparts, and being tired out with repeated watchings and fatigues, had thrown himself on a bench to take a little repose; when he was called up to mount guard again upon the ramparts, as he was dragging himself along, hardly able to stand, and cursing the obstinacy of the king, who subjected all those about him to such insufferable and fruitless fatigues, Charles happened to overhear him; upon which, stripping off his own cloak, he spread it on the ground before him, saying, "My dear Reichel, you are quite spent; come, I have had an hour's sleep, which has refreshed me, I'll stand guard for you, while you finish your nap, and will wake you when I think it is time"; and so saying, he wrapped the colonel up in his cloak; and notwithstanding all his resistance, obliged him to lie down to sleep, and mounted guard himself.

It was during this siege, in October, 1715, that the elector of Hanover, lately made king of England, purchased of the king of Denmark the province of Bremen and Verden, with the city of Stade, which the Danes had taken from Charles XII. This purchase cost King George eight hundred thousand German crowns. In this manner were the dominions of Charles bartered away, while he defended the city of Stralsund, inch by inch, till at length nothing was left of it but a heap of ruins, which his officers compelled him to leave; and when he was in a place of safety, General Duker delivered up those ruins to the king of Prussia.

Some time afterward, Duker being presented to

Charles, that monarch reproached him with having capitulated to his enemies; when Duker replied, "I had too great a regard for your majesty's honor, to continue to defend a place which you were obliged to leave." However, the Prussians continued in possession of it no longer than 1721, when they gave it up at the general peace.

During the siege of Stralsund, Charles received another mortification, which would have been still more severe, if his heart had been as sensible to the emotions of friendship, as it was to those of fame and honor. His prime minister, Count Piper, a man famous throughout all Europe, and of unshaken fidelity to his prince—notwithstanding the assertions of certain rash persons, or the authority of a mistaken writer—this Piper, I say, had been the victim of his master's ambition ever since the battle of Poltava. As there was at that time no cartel for the exchange of prisoners subsisting between the Russians and Swedes, he had remained in confinement at Moscow, and although he had not been sent into Siberia, as the other prisoners were, yet his situation was greatly to be pitied. The czar's finances at that time were not managed with so much fidelity as they ought to have been, and his many new establishments required an expense which he could with difficulty meet. In particular, he owed a considerable sum of money to the Dutch, on account of two of their merchant-ships which had been burned on the coast of Finland, in the descent the czar had made on that country. Peter pretended that the Swedes were to make good the damage, and wanted to engage Count

Piper to charge himself with this debt; accordingly he was sent for from Moscow to St. Petersburg, and his liberty was offered him, in case he could draw upon Sweden letters of exchange to the amount of sixty thousand crowns. It is said that he actually did draw bills for this sum on his wife, at Stockholm, but she being either unable or unwilling to take them up, they were returned, and the king of Sweden never gave himself the least concern about paying the money. Be this as it may, Count Piper was closely confined in the castle of Schlüsselburg, where he died the year after, at the age of seventy. His remains were sent to the king of Sweden, who gave them a magnificent burial; a vain and melancholy return to an old servant, for a life of suffering, and so deplorable an end!

Peter was satisfied with having got possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Karelia, and Ingria, which he looked upon as his own provinces, and to which he had, moreover, added almost all Finland, which served as a kind of pledge, in case his enemies should conclude a peace. He had married one of his nieces to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg, in April, 1715, so that all the sovereigns of the North were now either his allies or his creatures. In Poland, he kept the enemies of King Augustus in awe; one of his armies, consisting of about eight thousand men, having, without any loss, quelled several of those confederacies, which are so frequent in that country of liberty and anarchy: on the other hand, the Turks, by strictly observing their treaties, left

him at full liberty to exert his power, and execute his schemes to their utmost extent.

In this flourishing situation of his affairs, scarcely a day passed without being distinguished by new establishments, either in the navy, the army, or the legislature: he himself composed a military code for the infantry.

He founded a naval academy at St. Petersburg; despatched Lange to China and Siberia, with a commission of trade; set mathematicians to work, in drawing maps of the whole empire; built a summer palace at Petershoff, and at the same time built forts on the banks of the Irtish, stopped the incursions and ravages of the Bokhari on the one side, and, on the other, suppressed the Tartars of Kouban.

In 1715, his prosperity seemed to be at its zenith, by the empress Catherine's being delivered of a son, and an heir to his dominions being given him, in a prince born to the czarevitch Alexis; but the joy for these happy events, which happened within a few days of each other, was soon damped by the death of the empress' son; and the sequel of this history will show us, that the fate of the czarevitch was too unfortunate for the birth of a son to this prince to be looked upon as a happiness.

The delivery of the czarina put a stop for some time to her accompanying, as usual, her royal consort in all his expeditions by sea and land; but, as soon as she was up again, she followed him to new adventures.

CHAPTER XXVI.

TRAVELS OF THE CZAR.

WISMAR was at this time besieged by the czar's allies. This town, which belonged of right to the duke of Mecklenburg, is situated on the Baltic, about seven leagues from Lübeck, and might have rivalled that city in its extensive trade, being once one of the most considerable of the Hanse Towns, and the duke of Mecklenburg exercised therein a full power of protection, rather than of sovereignty. This was one of the German territories yet remaining to the Swedes, by virtue of the Peace of Westphalia: but it was now obliged to share the same fate as Stralsund. In February, 1716, the allies of the czar pushed the siege with the greatest vigor, in order to make themselves masters of it before that prince's troops should arrive; but Peter himself coming before the place in person, after the capitulation, which had been made without his knowledge, made the garrison prisoners of war. He was not a little incensed that his allies should have left the king of Denmark in possession of a town which was the right of a prince who had married his niece; and his resentment on this occasion—which that artful minister, Goertz, soon after turned to his own advantage—laid the first foundation of the peace, which he meditated to bring about between the czar and Charles XII.

Goertz took the first opportunity to insinuate to the czar, that Sweden was sufficiently humbled, and that he should be careful not to suffer Denmark and

Prussia to become too powerful. The czar joined in opinion with him, and as he had entered into the war merely from motives of policy, whilst Charles carried it on wholly on the principles of a warrior, he, from that instant, slackened in his operations against the Swedes, and Charles, everywhere unfortunate in Germany, determined to risk one of those desperate strokes which success only can justify, and carried the war into Norway.

In the meantime, Peter was desirous to make a second tour through Europe. He had undertaken his first as a person who travelled for instruction in the arts and sciences: but this second he made as a prince, who wanted to dive into the secrets of the several courts. He took the czarina with him to Copenhagen, Lübeck, Schwerin, and Neustadt. He had an interview with the king of Prussia at the little town of Auersberg, whence he and the empress went to Hamburg, and to Altena, which had been burned by the Swedes, and which they caused to be rebuilt. Descending the Elbe as far as Stade, they passed through Bremen, where the magistrates prepared fireworks and illuminations for them, which formed, in a hundred different places, these words, "Our deliverer is come amongst us." At length, on Dec. 17, 1716, he arrived once more at Amsterdam, and visited the little hut at Saardam, where he had first learned the art of ship-building, about eighteen years before, and found his old dwelling converted into a handsome and commodious house, which is still to be seen, and goes by the name of the prince's house.

It may easily be conceived with what a kind of idolatry he was received by a trading and seafaring people, whose companion he had heretofore been, and who thought they saw in the conqueror of Poltava a pupil who had learned from them to gain naval victories; and had, after their example, established trade and navigation in his own dominions. In a word, they looked upon him as a fellow-citizen who had been raised to the imperial dignity.

The life, the travels, the actions of Peter the Great, as well as of his rival, Charles of Sweden, exhibit a surprising contrast to the manners which prevail among us, and which are, perhaps, rather too delicate; and this may be one reason that the history of these two famous men so much excites our curiosity.

The czarina had been left behind at Schwerin indisposed, being greatly advanced in her pregnancy; nevertheless, as soon as she was able to travel, she set out to join the czar in Holland, but was taken in labor at Wesel on Jan. 14, 1717, and there delivered of a prince, who lived but one day. It is not customary with us for a lying-in-woman to stir abroad for some time; but the czarina set out and arrived at Amsterdam in ten days after her labor. She was very desirous to see the little cabin her husband had lived and worked in. Accordingly she and the czar went together, without any state or attendants excepting only two servants, and dined at the house of a rich shipbuilder of Saardam, whose name was Kalf, and who was one of the first who had traded at St. Petersburg. His son had lately ar-

rived from France, whither Peter was going. The czar and czarina took great pleasure in hearing an adventure of this young man, which I should not mention here, if it did not serve to show the great difference between the manners of that country and ours.

Old Kalf, who had sent this son of his to Paris to learn the French tongue, was desirous that he should live in a genteel manner during his stay there; and accordingly had ordered him to lay aside the plain garb which the inhabitants of Saardam are in general accustomed to wear, and to provide himself with fashionable clothes in Paris and to live in a manner rather suitable to his fortune than his education; being sufficiently well acquainted with his son's disposition to know that this indulgence would have no bad effect on his natural frugality and sobriety.

As a calf is in the French language called *Veau*, our young traveller, when he arrived at Paris, took the name of De Veau. He lived in a splendid manner, spent his money freely, and made several genteel connections. Nothing is more common in Paris than to bestow, without reserve, the title of count and marquis, whether a person has any claim to it or not, or even if he is barely a gentleman. This absurd practice has been allowed by the government, in order that, by thus confounding all ranks, and consequently humbling the nobility, there might be less danger of civil wars, which, in former times, were so frequent and destructive to the peace of the state. In a word, the title of marquis and

count, without possessions equivalent to that dignity, are like those of knight, without being of any order, or abbé, without any church preferment; of no consequence, and not recognized by the sensible part of the nation.

Young Mr. Kalf was always called the count de Veau by his acquaintances and his own servants; he frequently made one in the parties of the princesses; he played at the duchess of Berri's, and few strangers were treated with greater marks of distinction, or had more general invitations among polite company. A young nobleman, who had been always one of his companions in these parties, promised to pay him a visit at Saardam, and was as good as his word; when he arrived at the village, he inquired for the house of Count Kalf; when being shown into a carpenter's workshop, he there saw his former gay companion, the young count, dressed in a jacket and trousers, after the Dutch fashion, with an axe in his hand, at the head of his father's workmen. Here he was received by his friend in that plain manner to which he had been accustomed from his birth, and from which he never deviated. The sensible reader will forgive this little digression, as it is a satire on vanity, and a panegyric on true manners.

The czar continued three months in Holland, during which he passed his time in matters of a more serious nature than the adventure just related. Since the treaties of Nimeguen, Ryswick, and Utrecht, The Hague had preserved the reputation of being the centre of negotiations in Europe. This

little city, or rather village, the most pleasant of any in the North, is inhabited chiefly by foreign ministers, and by travellers who come for instruction to this great school. They were at that time laying the foundation of a great revolution in Europe. The czar having received intelligence of the approaching storm, prolonged his stay in the Low Countries, that he might be nearer at hand to observe the machinations going forward, both in the North and South, and prepare himself for the part which it might be necessary for him to act therein.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TRAVELS OF PETER THE GREAT—CONSPIRACY OF BARON GOERTZ—RECEPTION OF THE CZAR IN FRANCE.

HE PLAINLY saw that his allies were jealous of his power, and found that there is often more trouble with friends than with enemies.

Mecklenburg was one of the principal subjects of those divisions, which almost always subsist between neighboring princes who share in conquests. Peter was not willing that the Danes should take possession of Wismar for themselves, and still less that they should demolish the fortifications, and yet they did both the one and the other.

He openly protected the duke of Mecklenburg, who had married his niece, and whom he regarded

like a son-in-law, against the nobility of the country, and the king of England as openly protected these latter. On the other hand, he was greatly discontented with the king of Poland, or rather with his minister, count Flemming, who wanted to throw off that dependence on the czar, which necessity and gratitude had imposed.

The courts of England, Poland, Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg were severally agitated with intrigues and cabals.

Toward the end of the year 1716 and beginning of 1717, Goertz, who, as Bassevitz tells us in his memoirs, was weary of having only the title of counsellor of Holstein, and being only private plenipotentiary to Charles XII., was the chief promoter of these intrigues, with which he intended to disturb the peace of all Europe. His design was to bring Charles XII. and the czar together, not only to finish the war between them, but to unite them in friendship, to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and to wrest Bremen and Verden out of the hands of George I., king of England, and even to drive that prince from the English throne, in order to put it out of his power to appropriate to himself any part of the spoils of Charles XII.

There was at the same time a minister of his own character, who had formed a design to overturn the two kingdoms of England and France; this was Cardinal Alberoni, who had more power at that time in Spain than Goertz had in Sweden, and was of as bold and enterprising a spirit as himself, but much more powerful, as he was at the head of affairs,

in a kingdom infinitely more rich, and never paid his creatures and dependants in copper money.

Goertz, from the borders of the Baltic Sea, soon formed a connection with Alberoni in Spain. The cardinal and he held a correspondence with all the wandering English who were in the interest of the house of Stuart. Goertz made visits to every place where he thought he was likely to find any enemies of King George, and went successively to Germany, Holland, Flanders, and Lorraine, and at length came to Paris about the end of the year 1716. Cardinal Alberoni began, by remitting to him in Paris, a million of French livres, in order—to use the cardinal's own expression—to set fire to the train.

Goertz proposed that Charles XII. should yield up several places to the czar, in order to be in a condition to recover all the others from his enemies, and that he might be at liberty to make a descent upon Scotland, while the partisans of the Stuart family should make an effectual rising in England; after their former vain attempts to effect these views, it was necessary to deprive the king of England of his chief support, which at that time was the regent of France. It was certainly very extraordinary to see France in league with England against the grandson of Louis XIV., whom she herself had placed on the throne of Spain at the expense of her blood and treasure, notwithstanding the strong confederacy formed to oppose him; but it must be considered that everything was now out of its natural order, and the interests of the regent not those of the kingdom. Alberoni, at that time, was carry-

ing on a conspiracy in France against this very regent.* And the foundations of this grand project were laid almost as soon as the plan itself had been

*The conspiracy carried on in France by Cardinal Alberoni was discovered in a singular manner. The Spanish ambassador's secretary, who used frequently to go to the house of one La Follon, a famous procuress of Paris, to amuse himself for an hour or two after the fatigues of business, had appointed a young nymph, whom he was fond of, to meet him there at nine o'clock in the evening; but did not come to her till nearly two o'clock in the morning. The lady, as may be supposed, reproached him with the little regard he paid to her charms, or his own promise, but he excused himself by saying that he had been obliged to stay to finish a long despatch in cipher, which was to be sent away that very night by a courier to Spain; so saying, he undressed and threw himself into bed, where he quietly fell asleep. In pulling off his clothes, he had by accident dropped a paper out of his pocket, which, by its bulk, raised in the nymph that curiosity so natural to her sex. She picked it up, and read it partly over, when the nature of its contents made her resolve to communicate them to La Follon; accordingly she framed some excuse for leaving the room, and immediately went to the apartment of the old lady, and opened her budget; La Follon, who had understanding superior to that of most in her sphere, immediately saw the whole consequence of the affair; and, after having recommended to the girl to amuse her gallant as long as possible, she immediately went to waken the regent, to whom she had access at all hours, for matters of a very different nature to the present. This prince, whose presence of mind was equal to every exigency, immediately despatched different couriers to the frontiers; in consequence of which, the Spanish ambassador's messenger was stopped at Bayonne, and his despatches taken from him; upon deciphering which, they were found exactly to agree with the original delivered to the regent by La Follon; upon this, the prince of Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador, was arrested and all his papers seized; after which he was sent under a strong guard to the frontiers, where they left him, to make the best of his way to his own country. Thus an event which would have brought the kingdom of France to the verge of destruction, was frustrated by a votary of Venus, and a priestess of the temple of pleasure.

formed. Goertz was the first who was let into the secret, and was to have made a journey into Italy in disguise, to hold a conference with the pretender in the neighborhood of Rome; thence he was to have hastened to The Hague, to have an interview with the czar, and then to have settled everything with the king of Sweden.

The author of this history is particularly well informed of every circumstance here advanced, for Baron Goertz proposed to him to accompany him in these journeys; and, although he was very young at that time, he was one of the first witnesses to a great part of these intrigues.

Goertz returned from Holland in the latter part of 1716, furnished with bills of exchange from Cardinal Alberoni, and letters plenipotentiary from Charles XII. It is incontestable that the Jacobite party were to have made a rising in England, while Charles, on his return from Norway, was to make a descent upon the north of Scotland. This prince, who had not been able to preserve his own dominions on the continent, was now going to invade and overturn those of his neighbors, though just escaped from his prison in Turkey, and from amidst the ruins of his own city of Stralsund. Europe might have beheld him placing the crown of Great Britain on the head of the son of James II. in London, as he had before done that of Poland on Stanislaus at Warsaw.

The czar, who was acquainted with a part of Goertz's projects, waited for the unfolding of the rest, without entering into any of his plans, or in-

deed knowing them all. He was as fond of great and extraordinary enterprises as Charles XII., Goertz, or Alberoni; but then it was as the founder of a state, a lawgiver, and a sound politician; and perhaps Alberoni, Goertz, and even Charles himself were men of restless souls, who sought after great adventures, rather than persons of solid understanding, who took their measures with a just precaution; or perhaps after all, their ill successes may have subjected them to the charge of rashness and imprudence.

During Goertz's stay at The Hague, the czar did not see him, as it would have given too much umbrage to his friends the states-general, who were in close alliance with, and attached to, the party of the king of England; and even his ministers visited him only in private, and with great precaution, havings orders from their master to hear all he had to offer, and to flatter him with hope, without entering into any engagement or making use of the czar's name in their conferences. But notwithstanding all these precautions, those who understood the nature of affairs plainly saw by his inactivity, when he might have made a descent upon Scania with the joint fleets of Russia and Denmark, by his visible coolness toward his allies, and the little regard he paid to their complaints, and lastly, by this journey of his, that there was a great change in affairs, which would very soon manifest itself.

In the month of January, 1717, a Swedish packet-boat, which was carrying letters over to Hol-

land, being forced by a storm upon the coast of Norway, put into harbor there. The letters were seized, and those of Baron Goertz and some other public ministers being opened, furnished sufficient evidence of the projected revolution. The court of Denmark communicated these letters to the English ministry, who gave orders for arresting the Swedish minister, Gyllenborg, then at the court of London, and seizing his papers; upon examining which they discovered part of his correspondence with the Jacobites.

King George immediately wrote to the states-general, requiring them to cause Baron Goertz to be arrested, agreeably to the treaty of union subsisting between England and that republic for their mutual security. But this minister, who had his creatures and emissaries in every part, was quickly informed of this order; upon which he instantly quitted The Hague, and got as far as Arnheim, a town on the frontiers, when the officers and guards who were in pursuit of him, and who are seldom accustomed to use such diligence in that country, came up with and took him, together with all his papers; he was closely confined and severely treated; and Secretary Stank, the person who had counterfeited the sign-manual of the young duke of Holstein in the affair of Tönning, experienced still harsher usage. In fine, the count of Gyllenborg, the Swedish envoy to the court of Great Britain, and the baron Goertz, minister plenipotentiary from Charles XII., were examined like criminals, the one at Lon-

don, and the other at Arnheim, while all the foreign ministers exclaimed against this violation of the law of nations.

This privilege, which is much more insisted upon than understood, and whose limits and extent have never yet been fixed, has in almost every age undergone violent attacks. Several ministers have been driven from the courts where they resided in a public character, and even their persons have been more than once seized upon; but this was the first instance of foreign ministers being interrogated at the bar of a court of justice, as if they were natives of the countries. The court of London and the states-general laid aside all rules upon seeing the dangers which menaced the house of Hanover; but, in fact, this danger, when once discovered, ceased to be any longer danger, at least at that juncture.

Norberg, the historian, must have been very ill informed, have had a very indifferent knowledge of men and things, or at least have been strangely blinded by partiality, or under severe restrictions from his own court, to endeavor to persuade his readers that the king of Sweden had not a great share in this plot.

The affront offered to his ministers fixed Charles more than ever in his resolution to try every means to dethrone the king of England. But here he found it necessary, once in his lifetime, to make use of dissimulation. He disowned his ministers and their proceedings, both to the regent of France and the states-general, from the former of whom he expected a subsidy, and with the latter it was for his

interest to keep fair. He did not, however, give the king of England so much satisfaction, and his ministers, Goertz and Gyllenborg, were kept six months in confinement, and this repeated insult animated in him the desire of revenge.

Peter, in the midst of all these alarms and jealousies, kept himself quiet, awaiting with patience the outcome of time; and having established such good order throughout his vast dominions, as that he had nothing to fear either at home or from abroad, he resolved to make a journey to France. Unhappily, he did not understand the French language, by which means he was deprived of the greatest advantage he might have reaped from his journey; but he thought there might be something there worthy of observation, and he wished to be a nearer witness of the terms on which the regent stood with the king of England, and whether that prince was staunch to his alliance.

Peter the Great was received in France as such a monarch should be. Marshal Tessé was sent to meet him with a number of the principal lords of the court, a company of guards, and the king's coaches; but he, according to his usual custom, travelled with such expedition that he was at Gournay when the equipages arrived at Elbeuf. Entertainments were made for him in every place on the road where he chose to partake of them. On his arrival he was received in the Louvre, where the royal apartments were prepared for him, and others for the princes Kourakin and Dolgorouki, Vice-Chancellor Shafiroff, Ambassador Tolstoi—the same who had suf-

fered that notorious violation of the laws of nations in Turkey—and for the rest of his retinue. Orders were given for lodging and entertaining him in the most splendid and sumptuous manner; but Peter, who was there only to see what might be of use to him, and not to suffer these ceremonious triflings, which were a restraint upon his natural plainness, and consumed time that was precious to him, went the same night to take up his lodgings at the other end of the city, in the Hôtel de Lesdiguière, belonging to Marshal Villeroi, where he was entertained at the king's expense in the same manner as he would have been at the Louvre. The next day—May 8, 1717—the regent of France went to make him a visit in the hotel, and the day afterward the young king, then an infant, was sent to him under the care of his governor, Marshal Villeroi, whose father had been governor to Louis XIV. On this occasion they, by a polite artifice, spared the czar the troublesome restraint of returning this visit immediately after receiving it, by allowing an interval of two days for him to receive the respects of the several corporations of the city; the second night he went to visit the king; the household were all under arms, and they brought the young king quite to the door of the czar's coach. Peter, surprised and uneasy at the prodigious concourse of people assembled about the infant monarch, took him in his arms, and carried him in that manner for some time.

Certain ministers of more cunning than understanding have pretended in their writings that Marshal Villeroi wanted to make the young king of

France take the upper hand on this occasion, and that the czar made use of this stratagem to overturn the ceremonial under the appearance of good nature and tenderness; but this notion is equally false and absurd. The natural good breeding of the French court and the respect due to the person of Peter the Great, would not permit a thought of turning the honors intended him into an affront. The ceremonial consisted in doing everything for a great monarch and a great man that he himself could have desired, if he had given any attention to matters of this kind. The journeys of the emperors Charles IV., Sigismund, and Charles V. to France were by no means comparable, in point of splendor, to this of Peter the Great. They visited this kingdom only from motives of political interest, and at a time when the arts and sciences, as yet in their infancy, could not render the era of their journey so memorable; but when Peter the Great, on his going to dine with the duke d'Antin in the palace of Petitburg, about three leagues out of Paris, saw his own picture, which had been drawn for the occasion, brought and placed in a room where he was, he then found that no people in the world knew so well as the French how to receive such a guest.

He was still more surprised, when, on going to see them strike the medals in the long gallery of the Louvre, where all the king's artists are so handsomely lodged, a medal which they were then striking happening to fall to the ground, the czar stooped hastily down to take it up, when he beheld his own head engraved thereon, and on the reverse Fame

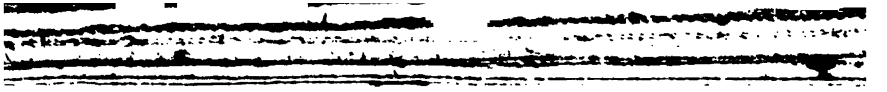
standing with one foot upon a globe, and underneath these words from Virgil: *"Vires acquirit eundo"*; an allusion equally delicate and noble, and elegantly adapted to his travels and his fame. Several of these medals in gold were presented to him, and to all those who attended him. Wherever he went to view the works of any artists, they laid the masterpieces of their performances at his feet, which they besought him to accept. In a word, when he visited the manufactures of the Gobelins, the workshop of the king's sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, jewellers, or mathematical-instrument makers, whatever seemed to strike his attention at any of those places was always offered him in the king's name.

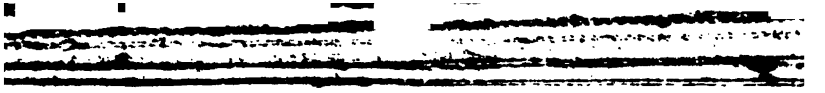
Peter, who was a mechanic, an artist, and a geometrician, went to visit the Academy of Sciences, whose members received him with an exhibition of everything they had most valuable and curious; but they had nothing so curious as himself. He corrected with his own hand several geographical errors in the maps of his own dominions, and especially in those of the Caspian Sea. Lastly, he condescended to become one of the members of that academy, and afterward continued a correspondence in experiments and discoveries with those among whom he had enrolled himself as a simple brother. If we would find examples of such travellers as Peter, we must go back to the times of a Pythagoras and an Anacharsis, and even they did not quit the command of a mighty empire to go in search of instruction.

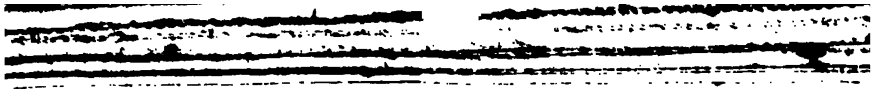
And here we cannot forbear recalling to the mind

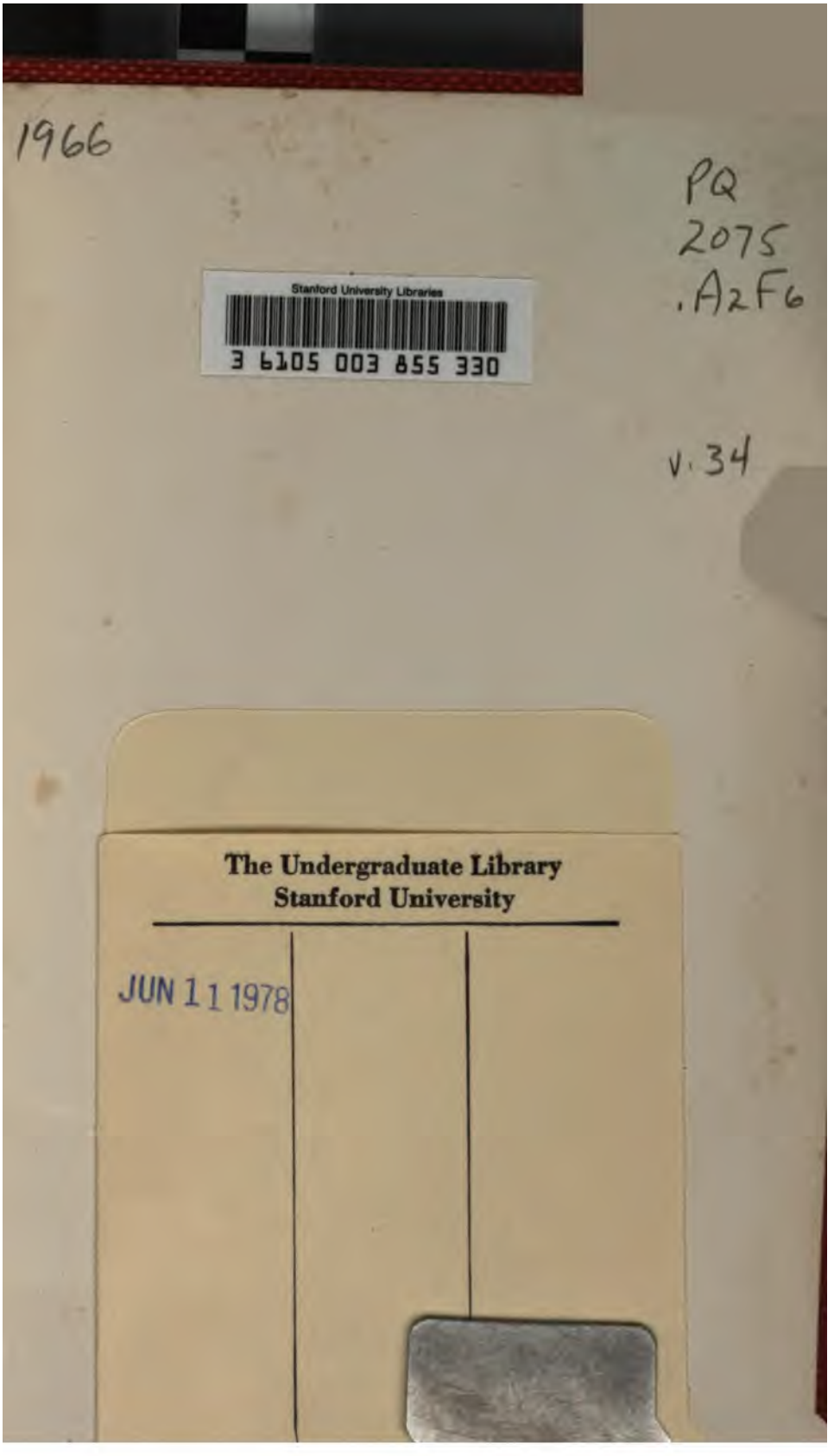
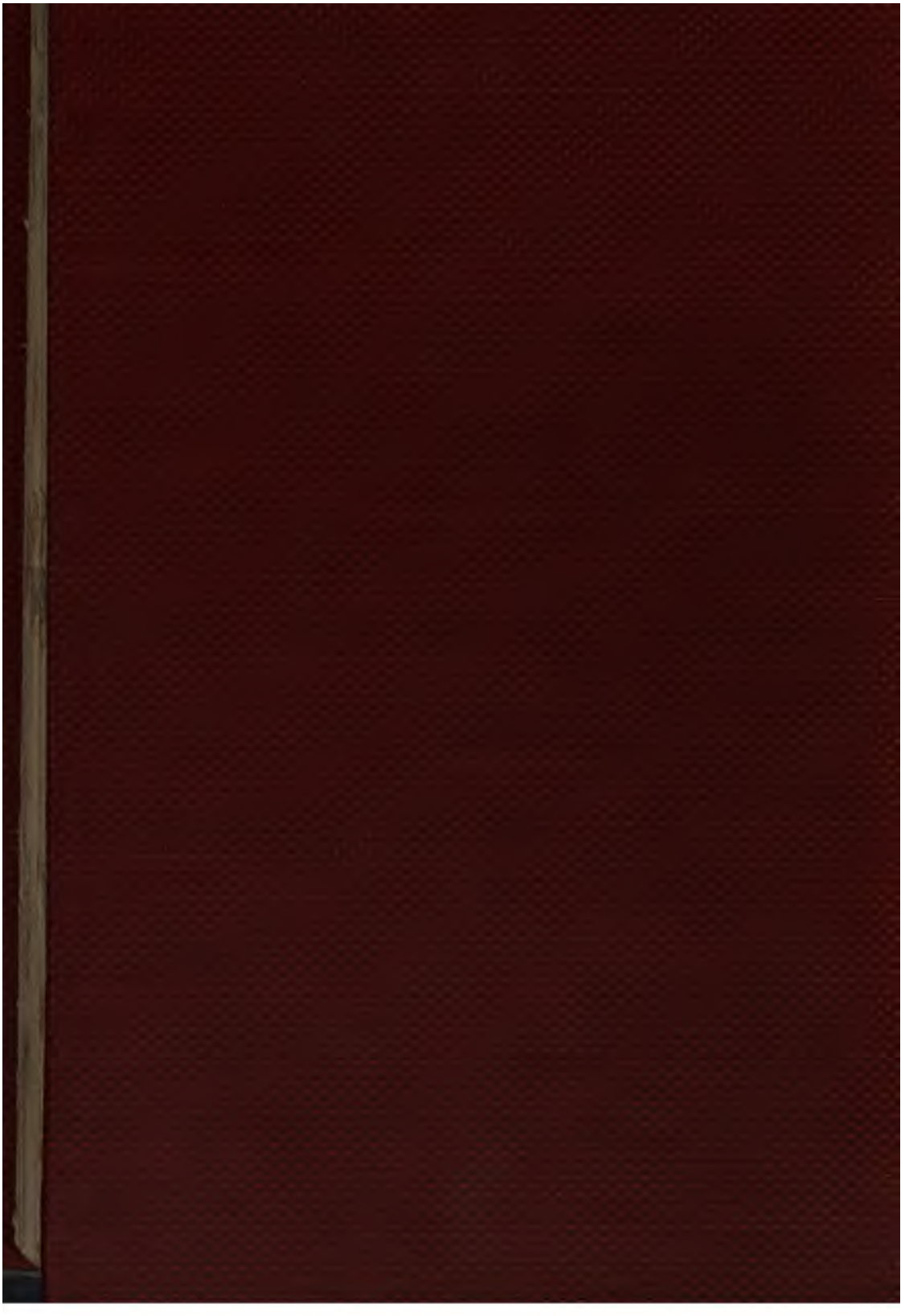
of the reader the transport with which Peter the Great was seized on viewing the monument of Cardinal Richelieu. Regardless of the beauties of the sculpture, which is a masterpiece of its kind, he admired only the image of a minister who had rendered himself so famous throughout Europe by disturbing its peace, and restored to France that glory which she had lost after the death of Henry IV. It is well known, that, embracing the statue with rapture, he burst forth into this exclamation: "Great man! I would have bestowed one-half of my empire on thee, to have taught me to govern the other." And now, before he quitted France, he wished to see the famous Madame de Maintenon, whom he knew to be in fact the widow of Louis XIV., and who was now drawing very near her end; and his curiosity was the more excited by the kind of conformity he found between his own marriage and that of Louis; though with this difference between the king of France and him, that he had publicly married a heroine, whereas Louis XIV. had only privately espoused an amiable wife.

The czarina did not accompany her husband in this journey; he was apprehensive that the excess of ceremony would be troublesome to her, as well as the curiosity of a court little capable of distinguishing the true merit of a woman who had braved death by the side of her husband both by sea and land, from the banks of the Pruth to the coast of Finland.





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